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C E N S U R E

O F

That Reverend and Learned man of God

Mr. *JOHN COTTON*, K

Lately of *New-England*, upon the  
way of Mr. *Henden* of *Bennenden*  
in *Kent*, expressed in some Ani-  
madversions of his upon a Letter  
of Mr. *Henden's*, sometimes sent to  
*Mr. Elmeston*.

2. A brief and solid Exercitation concerning the  
Coercive power of the Magistrate in mat-  
ters of Religion, by a reverend and learned  
Minister, Mr. *George Peiser*, lately  
of *Bread in S U S S E X*.

3. Mr. *Henden's* Animadversions on Mr. *Elmeston's*  
Epistle Revised and Chastized.

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Aug: 26

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. G. for *JOHN STAFFORD*, at the signe of  
the George near Fleet Bridge. 1656.

# CEINSURE

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Epistle Reviled and Chastised.

Printed by J. G. for JOHN STARROD at the signe of  
the George near Fleet Bridge. 1676.  
L O N D O N





# Mr. Hendons ANIMADVERSIONS

On

## Mr. Elmeftons EPISTLE,

### *Revised and Chastised.*

**W**ill say little to your Preface, but leave it to the discreet, judicious, and godly Reader, to examine and censure as he findes cause. Onely I desire that the Reader may know, that it is but your vain Surmise, that my other Answer to your Letter (as you intimate in the beginning of your Preface, and hint elsewhere in your Book) was the joynt-labour of sundry Neighbor-Ministers concurring with me. Touching which I can truly say, that not any of them, no not the nearest to me knew much of it, I am sure saw not a line of it, untill I had sent a Copy of it to your selfe. So farre were they from contributing their Midwifry to the Birth of it. There was but *unum ad unum*, according to the \* Proverb. But this is the over-weening confidence that you have of your selfe, that like *Miles gloriosus*, the braggadosia Souldier in *Plautus*, you think me too weak a man to grapple with you: and indeed I boast not of my abilities. What I am, I am by the grace of God alone, whom also I

B

thank

Page 94.

\* *Erasm. Chil. 2.*  
Cens. 2.

Cited by Mr.  
Burg. vindic.  
log. in the  
Preface Orat.  
Jest Mith.  
1573.

Chiliads 1.  
Canto 5.

Plaut. Mil. glor.  
Act. 10. Scen. 1.

King. ed. 1. 5.

thank for that small mite of Learning, humane or divine, that I have. But as St. *Augustine* saith, to say I, *Ego parvas vires habeo, sed Dei verbum magnas habet*; I have but small strength: but the Word of God and the Truth have great power. And as the learned Doctor *Reynolds*, *Bravus causam vel insanis suffragari, male vix Cicero patronus suffragari*. A very Babe may uphold a good cause, but *Cicero* himselfe is scarce a sufficient Patron for a bad. It favours of the like arrogant spirit, that you would have my Answer to you come forth in the name, and with the united forces of all our Ministers. What is this but some spice of *Goliath's* termagant spirit, who did defie the whole Host of *Israel*? and more than an *Herculean* courage, of whom the Proverb is, *Ne Hercules quidem contra duos*, *Hercules* himselfe would not take on him to deale with two. Methinks I heere from you the brags of that flattering Parasite to his Braggadosia Master, that he, *Hestius legiones difflevit spiritu quasi ventus folia*, that he had blown away legions of enemies with a blast, as the wind doth leaves. It may be for all this your boasting, you may have your hands full of one ere we have done, as the Braggadosia Dares in the Poet, had of aged *Entellus*, who upon encounter with that aged Worthy, notwithstanding his insolent boast and challenge, was faine to yeild him up the Bucklers upon *Aeneas* timely advice, who saw it like else to go ill with him, saying,

*Numme aliam vires, curvesaq; numina sentis?*

*Cede Doo.*

*Do'st thou not feele a Strength above thine own,  
And God against thee? Unto God sit down.*

But leaving further to meddle with your Preface, I passe to your Animadversions, where you tell me, that my Epistle comes galloping in, &c. Whereto I say, That I was never noted among my neighbours for a Galloper, but one that usually rode a sober pace: The more unlikely is it that I should turne Galloper in my age, or that my Epistle should come galloping in, and that upon a wooden Horse, who could not sure be very free of motion, but as he was drawn by others strength. But howsoever thus you jure at this not wooden story, as you scoff; but a pleasant Poetical fiction, yet the application of it to your opinion and practise, about



about an Universall toleration in Religion; doth so fully meet  
 with you therein, that it makes you kick and lash like a Jade net-  
 tled in the breech. It is a vile and lewd perverting of my words &c  
 meaning, to say (as you doe) that liberty granted to tender con-  
 sciences in Religion, is by me compared to this Trojan Horse:  
 For I speak plainly of an Universall toleration of all wayes and  
 consciences in Religion, and that not as established and owned by  
 the State (as some did calumniate me) (For I knew, and know  
 that there was an Act made against *Ranters*, that they had de-  
 clared themselves against *Arrians* in condemning Mr. Fry his  
 book; and against *Socinians* in ordering the *Cracovian* Cate-  
 chisme to be burnt, for which their zeal for Christ and his Truth,  
 I blesse the Lord, and wish, that from all Gods people they may  
 have their deserved honour) but I mentioned it onely as a thing  
 pleaded for, taken up by the head-strong practise of too many,  
 which is sadly evident to the World. And is there no difference  
 between such a vast toleration, and a just liberty granted unto  
 tender consciences? If men will be blasphemous *Mahumetans*,  
 execrable *Arrians*, and *Socinians*, idolatrous *Papists*, gross  
*Arminians*, wretched Soule-Mortalists, fantastick *Seekers*, &c.  
 Are these to be tolerated as men of tender consciences in Religi-  
 on? Such onely have been counted men of tender consciences  
 in Religion, whose mistakes have been in matters indifferent, or at  
 least in points not fundamentall, of an inferiour alley, carrying  
 themselves in an humble and peaceable way, and not struggling to  
 make parties and rents in the Church; with whom much pati-  
 ence is to had, and to whom due liberty is to be granted. But  
 surely such as erre in matters fundamentall, or next to the foun-  
 dation, and pertinaciously persist therein, after due paines taken  
 with them, to informe them in the truth, and convince them of  
 their error, yea, and also openly professe, and spread them abroad  
 to seduce others, are far from men of tender consciences, unless  
 Drunkards, Adulterers, Railers, &c. be so also, with whom Here-  
 ticks are coupled, Gal. 5. 20. Tender Consciences and true Grace  
 may meet in one subject, and none indeed are truly of tender  
 Conscience, but such as are truly Gracious.

But what spark of saving Grace can be in such, whose minde  
 and consciences are possessed and corrupted with damnable er-

rose and heretics, as *Peter* calls them? It is but censorious ignorance  
 which you manifest in taxing me for the use of this Poeticall fiction  
 of the *Trojan Horse*; nor is it utterly unsuitable to the ma-  
 jesty of Divinity (though in this my Epistle I treat of no speciall  
 point of Divinity) especially in controversall writings to make  
 use of Poeticall fictions, or Poetry, when as the Apostle in his pre-  
 ching and writing, did think the speeches of Heathen Poets suitable  
 enough to his most serious Divinity, as appears *Acts* 17. 28.  
*1 Cor.* 15. 33, *Tit.* 1. 11. where he doth alledge them: And say  
 that this is but a Fiction, yet is it a rule among Logicians, that  
 feigned examples and similitudes serve to illustrate as well as  
 true, *Ficta similitudo parum vim habet veritatis*. A feigned similitude  
 is of like force with the true; *Exemplorum*, saith another, *non est*  
*exquirenda veritas, sed solum rei propositae declaratio aut convenientia*.  
 The truth of examples is not to be looked to, but only the declara-  
 tion of the matter propounded & their fitness for it. It is also but  
 a poor soarling to carp at a word, that upon mention of this Poe-  
 ticall Fiction I call, by way of allusion, our Church our *Troy*: Sure  
 I am that it is an expression which a thrice noble Author,  
 for Birth, Honour, Learning and Piety, thought it not unfit to  
 use, namely, *Philip Mornay*, Lord of *Plessis*; At whom to carp  
 would sooner bewray much audacious folly in you, than any  
 whit impeach his wisdom and gravity. And touching your far-  
 ther descent upon this name, it is a wild and roving conceit, that  
*Rome* was built by any roving Trojans, when there were more  
 than four hundred years between *Aeneas* coming into *Italy* with  
 his Trojans, and the building of *Rome* by *Remulus* and *Remus*, when  
 the wandering of the Trojans was ceased, yet their name lost, and  
 extinguished, though some of the race might remain though  
 swallowed up by other nations, and under other names. 2. Where  
 and by whom *Rome* is called a second *Troy*, if you had shewed, I  
 should have been beholding to you for that piece of Philology:  
 For I confesse ingenuously, it is not within the compass of my  
 memory. 3. It is a wrong to our Church in *England* (now as it  
 is) to call it Hierarchicall, when it was of that frame, the good  
 Party groaned under such Lords as an heavy burthen, and it hath  
 now cleave cast them off, and changed its face and form into a  
 Church Ministeriall; your petty Separation comes neerer to an  
 Anar-

*Ramus dialect.*  
 lib. 1. cap. 21.

*Zabarel. de*  
*mente humana.*  
 cap. 8.

In his Preface  
 to his mytery  
 of Iniquity, not  
 far from the  
 end,

*Buchel. in*  
*Chron.*



Anarchy, than our Church-state to an Hierarchy? Last, It is a wonder you tell us of, viz. of a Christian Church arising out of the ashes of a Pagan City. The Proverb is, *Ex squilla non nascitur Rosa*. The sweet Rose grows not out of the stinking sented Sea-onion; much more unlikely it is that a City of God should arise out of a Palace of Sathan. You love, if not all devouring words, as the Prophet speaks, *Isaiah 57:3*. yet all biting words. But if you mean (as some speak) of a noble Trojan, *Brutus* arriving in *England*, that English-men are descended of old of the Trojan Blood; that hath been counted the honour of the Nation, or if any blemish be in it, it reflecteth on you, yours, and your company, as much as upon us or any other.

Concerning *Troy's* dissolution, I speak not of the Meritorious Cause that did procure it, which was (as you say) their retaining of that Schemper *Helena*, but of the Active Cause which by fire and sword did lay it waste, which were the Grecian Captains hidden in that Horse, and the other Grecian Army joyning with them. And for any such accursed thing to be found amongst us, we are as free by Gods grace, and so shall be, and far from any such spiritual Harlotry, as you are in this your censure of us from Christian Charity. But whatsoever be amongst us, I see not but that you allow, and would bring in amongst us as provoking, and evil, and a more filthy Harlot, than was *Helena*, viz. an universal Toleration for all Religions. For *Helena*, though she lewdly forsook her Husband *Mene-la-us*, and ran away with *Paris*, yet as long as she lived she was faire and honest toward him. But this Harlot-Toleration doth allow men liberty to commit spiritual Fornication, with any false Religion; and at pleasure to give a bill of Divorce to the old, and take up a new. That liberty (which I yoke, you say, most unfitly to the Trojan wooden Horse) what is it but an universal Toleration for all Wayes and Consciences in Religion? Which Liberty (say you) is a precious Jewell, bought for men by the invaluable ranfome of *Jesus Christ*. In which words I doubt you are little aware what you say. What hath Christ shed his blood, that men might have liberty to deny his Deity, to reproach the Scriptures, to be *Arrians*, *Soci-nians*, *Papists*, and to be what they please in point and profession of Religion? I trust you abhorre to affirme such things. And yet

Chilist 2.  
Cent. 3.

such horrid consequences must needs ensue thereupon, if the Liberty, which I so compare, be the Jewell so purchased, since I manifestly speak it, and that onely of such an universal and generall toleration. And such as will so say, may as well say, that Christ hath shed his precious blood to procure men a liberty to whore, swear, and be drunk, as to be of what way in Religion they please. Grosse wayes in false Religion, and foule Errors and Heresies, do tend as much to the dishonour of Christ, and damnation of mens soules, as such foule and grosse sin. It is true what you add, that *by Christ we are redeemed from vaine traditions and humane thrustings, to be a free and willing people in Christs service.* But such a liberty comes farre short of that vast liberty, to be of what Religion we please, and to be tolerated therein without any controll from the Magistrate. You spitefully and falsely charge me, in defaming our noble Patriots about their honourable endeavours, and prosperous success in preventing the overflowing of Popery, promoting the Gospel, repressing Tyranny, or procuring us any just Liberty in the State or Religion: For the which I blesse the Lord, and honour them according to their most worthy desert. But such a vast and wide liberty (as I speak of, and you also must mean, if you answer to the point) viz. a toleration for all wayes and consciences in Religion, as Christ never purchased for us, so cannot I acknowledge, that the State doth allow it, however sundry plead for it, and assege it. And therefore you do more reproachfully defame them, to make them Patrons of such a wicked Liberty, than I, who deny them to be so. But whether it be usurped onely, or whether it should be established (which God forbid I should) I would never write upon such a Liberty, or the procuring of it, as you say I ought. This is the finger of God. That can never be the work of Gods finger, which is contrary to the word of his mouth. I do not complain of such a toleration, as in particular destructive unto us, but as to the welfare of the Gospel and Church in the whole Land; which sad effect it would as manifestly tend unto, as a generall Pestilence, in which infected persons were permitted to walk abroad among the sound, to the destroying the health of a Nation, and making the disease the more generall and mortall among them.



In which estate of Religion, though we have, and might have, more liberty than heretofore under the Prelates, and were to be thankfull to God and Man for our liberty to serve God in his own way. Yet no good Christian but must needs take it to heart, to the great abatement of his comfort, to see as much liberty granted to Error, Heresie, Idolatry, &c. as to Christ's owne saving Truth, and that such abominations to Christs open dishonour, and the damnation of soules should have free course and passage. I know not well what you mean by a Worldly power, whose Prop. our Church should need. The civill power of the Magistrate, especially in a Christian, is unfitly so nick-named: For it is an Ordinance of God, and not merely of the World, and ought to be employed for God: It may degenerate into a meer worldly power, in the hands of pagan and prophane persons, when it is exercised onely about worldly matters, with a neglect of Religion, yea perhaps against Christ and true Religion. But if by it you mean the civill Power, I doubt not but that our Church, as a true Church of Christ, can stand without that prop. But this withall I give you to know, that even Christs true Church and Religion, though it can stand without such worldly support, doth yet the more flourish, spread and lift up its head, when the civill Magistrate doth undertake the protection, and doth countenance it not onely against Persecution, but also against contrary Schisms, Heresies, and Idolatry. It was some benefit which the Lord did, when the Church should enjoy by the civill Power, when he did promise that Kings should be *nursing Fathers*, and Queens *nursing Mothers* therunto. Isa. 49. 23. Where let it be noted, that the promise is made unto the Church, and not to all wayes in Religion, though Hereticall and Idolatrous, as if they should have equall protection and countenance from Kings, Queenes, and supreme Magistrates with the Church.

And what benefit the Church hath by the protection and support of the Magistrate, as our *England* may sufficiently witnesse, where Religion did more flourish in the free and open worship of God, and the number of professions of Religion under the reign of *Edward the first*, blessed *Queen Elizabeth* &c. the one whereof was even in his younger dayes a *nursing Father*, the other all her dayes a *nursing Mother* to the Church, then in the dayes of *Queen Mary*.

*May*, a cruell Step-dame and persecutor thereof. So if we take a survey of States abroad, certainly we shall perceive that the Church and Religion doth prosper better in *Genoa* and its territory and among the *Helvetic* Protestants, where one way of true Religion is maintained, than in *Polonia*, such States wherein this mingle-mangle is tolerated.

Zech. 4.6.  
Revel 6.2.  
Dan. 2.34.  
Psal. 110.3.  
and 47.9.  
2 Cor. 5.14.

Next, you would have me remember, that the Primitive was built not by Power, but by the Spirit; *That by the Spirit Christ went forth conquering*; *That the Stone dashing, all opposers were cut out of the mountain without hands*; *That Gods people are a willing people, and never act nobly but out of a principle of love*. All this I doe desire to remember. But what is all this to prove, an Universall toleration of all wayes and consciences in Religion, which was the thing I insisted on as the main root of much mischief amongst us? What? cannot the Church be built, nor Christ conquer by the Spirit, nor *Daniels* Stone be cut out of the Mountain without hands, nor Gods people be a willing people, nor act out of love, unless such an universall toleration be allowed, and it be left as free for men to be Atheists, Mahumetans, Arrians, Papists, Hereticks, and Sectaries of any kinde, as well as to be true, sound, and orthodox Christians? This is a mystery you had need to open to us, how such a toleration doth conduce any whit to make the Gospel the more powerfull in converting, or Gods people the more free and willing in believing and professing.

But it seemes you muster up these forces against all coercive power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion:

But first, There was no need to fall upon this controversie, if your intent were onely to plead for some due liberty for tender consciences, that dissent in lesser matters, and that in a modest, meek, and peaceable way, which I did not gainsay, who onely bent my speech against this miscreant and universall toleration.

2. If you intend to argue against all such coercive power here is committed by you ignoranted Elenchi. you argue not against the question as it ought to be stated, which perhaps you conceal, that your arguing may be the more plausible among your Disciples, and other simple and well-meaning Readers, but such as doe not well understand the state of this controversie. For you know which



which you should have let your Reader know (which one thing understood, would have cut the sinews of most of your Reasons huddled together about this in your Preface) that we do not say, that the Magistrate hath power to compell any man to believe the Gospel, or to compell such as are strangers from the Faith, to take up the profession of it. But we affirm,

1. That the Magistrate may and ought to prohibite his Subjects now in the dayes of the Gospel the open exercise of Impious and Idolatrous worship, the open profession of ungodly Errors and Heresies, yea, also of rash and uncharitable rents from the true Church in his Dominion, and the open neglect and prophaning of the Lords day.

2. It is in his power, and it becometh him to command them, yea, even such as be strangers from the Faith, to attend that worship of God which is naturally morall, as to hear the Word read and preached, that they may be convinced of their false Religion, instructed in the true Faith, and converted to it by the Lords blessing coming in upon their hearing, and others outwardly professing the Faith, might be confirmed in it, and converted in the Inner man to a real and powerfull profession of it; and also to joyn in prayer and praising God. It doth not impeach this assertion, that *David* did not caule the *Edomites*, *Mondians*, and other Idolatrous Nations, conquered by him, to renounce their Idolatrous Worship, but did suffer them in it; nor did send any to teach them Gods Law, or constrain them to attend it. The Lord in those dayes had confined his worship and covenant of Salvation onely to the people of the Jewes, and would not have it made common generally to other Nations, except to some few Profelytes that came in, but had shut them out from this Covenant; wherefore *David* was not obliged to any such care of them, nor had any warrant to send any to teach them Gods Lawes and Wayes: but now under the Gospel there is no such restraint; but as God would have all men to repent, and his Grace is free for all Nations: So supreme Magistrates, had they any Heathen under their power, they were so as above to exercise their power, to put down their Idolatry, and bring them to Gods worship. But this is to be taken in by the way, That meer force is not to be used, but instruction and teaching to inform in

the truth, and to perswade the will ought to go along with power, that they be not driven as Beasts, but led fairly along, as men of reason and understanding.

3. For such Subjects as have been baptized into the faith of Christ, and so have given themselves to the profession of it, the Magistrate may and ought to provide against their renouncing of the Faith, and falling to Heresie and Idolatry, and for their submitting to means of being further taught and built up in it, and holding forth the profession of it, as otherwise, so especially in frequenting the worship of God.

Last, The Magistrate may and ought, by his Authority, not onely give way to the profession of the true Religion, and some way to countenance it, but is bound to provide that Gods Word be preached by faithfull and able Ministers, that they be encouraged and well maintained, and to command the practice of Gods worship in all points by Gods people.

Now your Scriptures make not against this Assertion thus explained: For they chiefly intend the inward conversion, and work of Grace in the heart, which is onely the work of the Spirit, and to which the civil power cannot reach, nor doe we allow him to meddle with it, as if by his Lawes he could work it. They concern not these outward actions mentioned, which may be reached and regulated by the civill Power. And though inward Conversion be the sole work of the Spirit, yet doth it not exclude the use of outward means, which do either more directly conduce or occasionally make some way for that work.

1. It doth not exclude the preaching, hearing, or other use of Gods Word, by which the Spirit worketh Faith and other saving Graces in men: Nor,

2. Doth it exclude the exercise of Church censures, which avails to keep men in the Faith, and an holy Conversation: Nor,

3. The command of the Magistrate (so far as hath been said) to restrain men from Idolatry and Heresie, which cannot but hinder the work of true Conversion, and to command the attendance on the Word preached, and other means of instruction, whereby men may be brought under the shadow of the holy Ghost, that he may work on them.

But to touch upon your Scriptures more particularly, for that  
of



of *Zacharias*; I shall desire the Reader to wait for the clearing of it, untill I come to a passage in your Book following, where it is againe alledged, and will be more fully examined: To that of *Rev. 6. 2.* it is but your single conceit (as you affect to be an odde man by your selfe) that by the *white Horse* whereon *Christ* is said there to *ride forth conquering*, or the *Bow* in his hand is meant of the Spirit: It is an expression not to be parallel'd, and sense not well sounding, to say, That *Christ* doth *ride on the Spirit*, or *carry the Spirit in his hand*: It is the more generall and genuine sense to understand it of the preaching of the Gospel, according to that of *Psal. 45.* where *Christ* is bid to *ride forth*, *verse 4.* *as on an horse*, which is there expounded his truth, and *furnished with sharp arrows*, *verse 5.* *to pierce the heart of his enemies*. Now the preaching of the Word doth carry forth *Christ*, as it were, on *Horse back*, in the view of men, and out of it, as a *Bow* in his hand, doth he shoot his divine Doctrine, Promises, and Threats which pierce to the heart of men; and by it he did, and doth conquer the world. The preaching of the Gospel hath its efficacy indeed from the Spirit going forth with it; which conquering power of the preaching of the Gospel, and of the Spirit the command of the Magistrate, as above declared, doth no way hinder, but promote rather, extending to bring men within the rode of that white Horse, that they may be conquered by his Rider, and brought to his Obedience, and within the reach of his Bow, that his Arrows may pierce their hearts with godly sorrow for sin, and make them fall downe unto *Christ*. *Subordinata non pugnant*, saith the Logician, *Things subordinate fight not one with another, but* *Kekerman.*  
*are subservient one to the other.* For the *Stone* cut out of the *System. log.*  
*Mountain* without hands, *Dan. 2. 34.* it doth indeed typifie *Christ* *l. 10. sect. 2.*  
and the Church his Kingdome. And as he, concerning his humane *cap. 5.*  
*nature*, was framed in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, without any procreation from man, and set up as King of the Church by God alone, without mans concurrence, so his Church and Kingdome was first set up by Gods onely power and authority, and not by that of Man; but so that outward means were and are a so used by him, and all is not done by the immediate power of God, without any use of meanes, as at first the world was created by him. For there are Ministers employed to preach the Gospel,

Magistrates

Magistrates set on work to countenance and defend it, and by their authority to set it up in their Countreys, Professours raised up to hold it forth in their lives, to suffer for it; but these means are so used by the Lord, that the whole work and successe of it appears to be from Gods power and blessing alone, not at all from man, as hereafter I shall more largely shew, and so is cut out, as it were without hands. It is manifest, that in the overthrow of those mighty Monarchies figured and set out, *Deut. 2.* the Lord did use the power of the Sword and Armies; and I believe that you think that Christ this Stone doth so now, and will doe the like in dashing to pieces all the mighty Opposers of his Kingdome. And therefore all things that are done toward the advancement of this Kingdome, are not wholly done without hands or externall meanes: And why then may not Christ also use some hands or externall meanes, in some things that more directly tend to the setting up and maintaining his Church and Kingdome? whose successe and efficacy yet is not from themselves, but wholly from Christs power and spirit, and so effected, as it were, without hands. For *Psal. 110. 3.* and *47. 9.* which say, That Gods people must be a willing people; and *2 Cor. 5. 14.* That they *act not nobly, unless out of love.* How doth the command of the Magistrate, as it is above laid downe, hinder them in Gods service to be a willing people, or to *act out of love*? For if they command good and lawfull things, the command doth not hinder their willingnesse in the doing of them, but encourage them in it, as knowing that they shall do them with praise and approbation: If they restraints them by their command from evill things, men ought not at any time to be willing to doe evill, but rather should willingly be restrained from it. And it is better that against their will they be restrained from evill, than that they be permitted willingly to rush into it. It is also an *Antinomian* misconceit to think that nothing is done willingly, and out of love to God, which is done out of obedience and respect to a commandement enjoining or prohibiting it. 2. Gods people were to be a willing people in his service, and to *act out of love* under the Law also as well as the Gospel. For there must be a willing minde and working out of love before any thing will be accepted: And yet *Abraham* is commended, that he would not onely exhort and

perswade.

1 Chro. 29. 9.

Deut. 6. 5.

2 Cor. 8. 12.



prebide; but out of his authority command his household to Gen. 18. 19.  
 fear God; and *Asa* likewise, that he commanded *Jadab* to seek 2 Chron. 14. 4.  
 the Lord God, and to do the Law, &c. Which course of  
 theirs, had it hindered the willingness of those that were com-  
 manded in Gods service, or their acting out of love, it may seem  
 strange that those so godly persons should practise it, stranger  
 that it is recorded to the praise of both. It is as much required  
 that men should be willing to abstain from foule sin against the  
 second Table, and to do the good duties of it, and that herein  
 they should act out of love; about which yet you allow the Ma-  
 gistrate to make lawes to restrain men from Murder, Fornication,  
 Theft, &c. and to cause them to be sober, honest, and just. And  
 how then doth this willingness, and acting out of love, hinder  
 Magistrates from making meet Lawes in matters of Religion?  
 Last, Nothing can be spoken more punctually than that of the  
 Apostle, concerning Servants; that what they doe in the Masters  
 service, they should doe it heartily and willingly. Notwithstan- Eph. 6. 6, 7  
 ding, surely you will grant Masters that authority over Servants; Col. 3. 23.  
 as to lay their command upon them, to doe them just service, and  
 to punish the neglect of it. Willingnesse to doe good, and acting  
 out of love, is nothing hindered, but may be promoted by the  
 command of Authority. It is true, that if a thing be done onely  
 out of obedience and respect to mans command, it wants its  
 acceptance with God, but it is good in it selfe; and though an  
 humane command may give some occasion to the doing of it;  
 yet a godly person will doe it also, yea, and more out of the love  
 of God, and to shew his ready obedience to him. But here we  
 have a Criticisme cast in by the way, viz. that the *Hebrew Text*  
 carries it to signifie voluntaries, as well as willing people, as if,  
 forsooth, there were some great and observable difference be-  
 tween these two words; when the one is but our common En-  
 glish word, the other coyned out of the Latine, and are both the  
 same in sense and signification. Next, we have a silly cavil about the  
 Error named, as coming out of the womb of an universall tolera-  
 tion. Nay, say you, they were long extant before such a tolera-  
 tion was granted, and so that could not be a womb to breed and  
 bring them forth.

It is more than we know that such a Toleration is.

Nè fuit magnus  
Sacerdos.

Good words, I pray you, be not so eager, but let me in cold blood argue the matter with you. If I were palpably mistaken in the rise and beginning of these things (which you have not proved, but barely affirmed) the mistake were only in my calculating the time of their Nativity, not in my denying that Logically Axiome, *Causa est prior effectu*. If this Axiome were alledged to confound me, I should as readily receive the Axiome as you; only the question would be which of these were the cause, which the effect, and which was before the other, whether that Toleration; or these Errors and Heresies in nature and time. I may here then return you some of your own language, that my intellectualls (as you jeere) were not so much disturbed with any heat of passion against Sectaries, as your brajnes were tickled with the whirlingig out of your aged humout to carp and churles. What follows is more serious. *If Errors arise (say you) not carnall but spirituall weapons must be at them down.*

*Answer.* I grant that spirituall weapons, as preaching, conference, Church-censures and prayer, are the most proper and effectual for this work, as more directly tending to informe in the Truth, convince of Error, and persuade mens hearts and minds, and such are first and most to be used in this case. But by your leave no thes only: Spirituall weapons must be used against sinners against the *second Table*, as preaching, admonition, Church-censures to convince



vine themselves to restrain them and bring them to repentance; but if these alone should be used, such fins and faults would not so fully and effectually be repressed; as when withall civill Lawes are made against them, and such punishments prepared for them: So here Spirituall weapons alone may be too weak to beat downe Errors and Heresies, and keep them from breaking out, and spreading abroad. But if with these Spirituall weapons, the civill (as you in some sort call them) viz. the prohibition of the Magistrate, and some moderate punishment be added, they will doe good, as otherwise, so to make erroneous persons the more seriously to consider of their wayes, whether they be right or wrong, and the more ready to receive the truth manifested to them, which otherwise out of pride and selfe conceits they will reject: It is well known that most erroneous persons are of the nature of the Servant *Solomon* speaketh of, who will not be corrected with words, though he understand well enough his Masters minde; yet upon bare words he will not answer, nor be brought unto his duty: So is it with these persons for the most, let them be never so fully convinced, let the truth be never so clearly manifested to them, so that they cannot put it off but with grosse shifts; yet for all words and spiritual weapons, they will not yeild to it, but of haughtinesse of spirit persist in their errors, and be oft more pertinacious and turbulent in their wayes.

Errors and Offences you say must come according to the Scripture, to manifest the approved, and to make Truth's victory the more glorious.

*Ans.* If they must be, and that by Gods permission, &c. must they therefore be suffered to go on without controll or contradiction? If so, it is not lawfull to oppose them with spirituall weapons, viz. Preaching, Writing, Conference, Church censure, &c. For in so doing we shall goe against Gods providence and permission, who will have them to be, and that for good ends; and it is in vaine to thinke thereby to repress them, since they must needs be.

This permission then, and necessity of them, doth no more exclude the use of the civill Power to restrain them, than of spirituall means: And if, notwithstanding the same, there be place

Matt. 18. 7.

place left for the Spirituall weapons to repress them, there may be also place for the Civill power in right order and manner against them. But what are these Offences that Christ saith must needs be? They are not onely Errors, Heresies, and false Religions, but also other foule sins against the *second Table*, as Murders, Whoredomes, Thefts, &c. which as is the corruption of Mans Nature, and the firing of Satans and the Worlds Temptations cannot be avoided, but doe break forth and must needs doe so, and that not without Gods permission. What then? must there be a free Toleration of these Iniquities? or, must Spirituall weapons onely be used against them to repress them? we should then surely have a woful world to live in, which is now too too bad, notwithstanding all good Lawes against them: And if notwithstanding this necessity and Gods permission, Magistrates may, yea ought (as herein I presume you will concur with us) to make Lawes against such enormities, and inflict civill punishments on them, the like necessity and permission of Heresies and Errors in Religion, is no sufficient reason against the use of the civill Power by Lawes and Punishments to oppose them. There is no more force in such a reason than because it is appointed for all men to die once, and so men must needs die, Some should argue, that therefore it were not lawfull, or at least it were in vaine to prescribe rules to preserve health and life, yea to make lawes against murdering men. For, might some say, To what purpose serves such a doe? Men must needs die, and all these rules and lawes will not prevent their death. Not will the ends for which Errors and Heresies must come, viz. to manifest the approved, and make truths victory the more notable, conclude for a free toleration of them. For if in that respect they must be let goe free without controll of the Magistrate, neither should they be opposed or suppressed by spirituall meanes, as which in the restraint of them would hinder the manifestation of the Approved, and obscure the victory of Truth. Besides, as other foule offences against the *second Table* fall out by divine permission, so are they permitted amongst other, even for such ends as errors and offences in Religion are, viz. to manifest such the more as are just, sober, chaste and innocent, upon grounds of good conscience, and to make their righteousness and innocency the more conspicuous. And if

all

H. b. 9. 27.



all such wickedness were left free without feare of humane punishment, doubtlesse in the midst of such a wicked liberty, the Righteousnesse, Innocency, and honest Conversation of those who did live justly and honestly, would be the more eminent and notable. If there were no punishment for Whoredome, Theft, Drunkennesse, &c. it would make the Chastity, Sobriety, and Justice, of such as kept themselves from those and such like Vices, the more famous and praise worthy. What you say of the Myſtery of Godlinesse, that it rayes out with the most perfect beauty by the cleere discovery of the deepest myſtery of Iniquity, may be as truly said, that in such a bad state of things, if it should be, the splendour of true Vertus and Innocency would ray forth with most perfect Beauty, by the discovery of the foulest practise of reigning iniquity. The more freedom there was in *Sodom* for all filchinesse and wickednesse, the more did *Lot's* righteousness and innocency appeare. But yet, woe to those Magistrates, that in their dominions should suffer all wickednesse of that sort to go unpunished, and not restrain it by just and severe lawes, that forsooth the honesty and righteousness of men truly good, might be the better tried, and the more manifest. And truly Magistrates will never have comfort in granting a free course to Errors, Heresies, and all wayes in Religion, in their respective Countreys, upon such pretences, that the sound in the Faith may be the more manifest, and Truths conquest the more glorious.

And here I think it not amisse to insert this Observation, that upon search it will be found, that Errors and Heresies did arise more easily, spread more swiftly, continue longer in the first three Centuries after Christ, where the Church wanted the authority of the civil Magistrate to put them down, then afterward when the Emperours had intertained the Christian Faith, in whose times they arose not so often, and were much sooner stayed and repressed by the Edicts and Lawes of Emperours, that were sound in the Faith, and did oppose them.

This may appeare by *Danew* his second Table upon *Augustine*, *De heresibus*, where he sheweth what Heresies did arise in every century, of which the three first centuries were most fertile, where are reckoned up more than sixty severall Heresies; the

other next three centuries afford not many above forty, and the most of them did arise and flourish under prophane and heretical Emperours.

*Obj.* Truth in a free passage may come in, as well as Heresie.

*Answe.* 1. But Truth surely will come in more freely, where the passage is stopped against Error and Heresie.

2. In such a free passage Error and Heresie in all likelihood would most prevaile, as being more suitable to our corrupt nature: *Mala herba cito crescit, A bad weed grows apace.* And naughty weeds will over-run a garden sooner, if they be not plucked up, than good herbs and flowers replenish and adorne it.

3. This makes no more against the use of the civill power, to repress them, than of spirituall meanes, and Church power. For if Truth in such Liberty may come in, as well as Heresie, why should there any opposition be made against Heresie by spiritual weapons? and why should not every way as free a liberty be left for one, as for the other?

4. It may as well be alledged against all civill Lawes to repress any other wickednesse: For why should any such Lawes be made, when in a free Liberty for men to live as they list, Righteousnesse and Vertue may come in, as well as Unrighteousnesse, or any other kinde of Vice?

*Obj.* Christ is as potent to prevaile in Light, as the Prince of darknesse in Delusions.

*Answe.* Must we therefore depend upon Christs immediate and almighty power, and working without use of meanes for the spreading Truth, and restraining Heresie? May we not as well say, Why should there be any preaching, any writing, any praying or disputing against Heresie? Christ is potent without such meanes to prevaile in light. Nay, may we not also say, Why should any Lawes be made against Murder, Whoredome, Theft, Slandering, &c. for God is as potent to maintaine Righteousnesse, Peace, Chastity and Truth, &c. in such a liberty, as Satan is to work Unrighteousnesse, Uncleanesse, Envy, Lying, &c. But if it cannot be expected that Christ should put forth his power to maintaine such Vertues, where there is such a neglect of meanes, as that no good Lawes be made against the foulest Vices, so surely it may be feared.



feared that Satan will there more prevail with his delusion in Religion, than Christ shew himself powerfull in maintaining truth; where no good lawes are in force to repressse Heresies or to uphold Divine truth.

*Obj. Truth may thus be shut out, and Compulsion hath proved a direct enemy to the Gospel.*

*Ans.* It is true: and so hath Preaching, Writing, and Church censures, helped to shut out Truth, and been made direct enemies to the Gospel. But that hath been not in the right use of them, by preaching and writing for truth, and just censuring scandalous and erroneous persons, but by the abuse of them in turning them against the truth and professors of it. And if this coercive power (which in harsh language you delight to call *Compulsion*) exercised in matters of Religion, have obstructed Truth, and been an adversary to the Gospel, that mischief hath not sprung from the nature of the power which is good and lawfull, but from the abuse of it by seduced and ill-affected Magistrates, who have misemployed it. And it is a grosse *Paralogisme*, from the abuse of any thing, to blemish or extinguish the right use of it. And if you would clear your eyes, and look abroad, you may see that it hath oft helped to maintain Truth, and propagate the Gospel, witness the godly Kings of Judah, who did thereby put down Idolatry in their land, and bring their people back to the true worship of God. Witness the first Christian Emperours, who by it banished Pagan Idolatry, and promoted Christian Religion. Witness Protestant Princes of late in England, and other Countreys, who by it suppressed Popish Idolatry, and set up the preaching of the Gospel, and countenanced the profession of it. Last, *Compulsion* of the Civil Power hath oft been an instrument of Tyranny, and exercised to hinder justice and righteousness, as Solomon sheweth: And yet indeed it is not so easily and oft used against Justice, and other duties of the second Table, as it is against the Gospel; For that there be more principles of civil righteousness, and care of preserving peace and mans outward welfare, left in mans nature to direct thereto, and check unrighteousness, than of Divine truth in Religion, of which there are left but some generall notions, that there is a God, and that he is to be worshipped; but nothing by any such principles doe they know of the particular manner of

Eccles. 3. 16.

his worship, much lesse any thing of the Gospel. And if notwithstanding this abuse of civil power, or compulsion against righteousness and tranquillity, commended in the second Table, it have its right use, and that to be a law about civil matters of that table, there may be a right and lawfull use of it in matters of Religion, though by the abuse thereof, it shut out Truth, and be off an enemy to the Gospel.

*Obj. To what way doe you so eagerly Labour to engage the Sword of the Magistrate? to your own or to some others?*

*Ans.* This is nothing but the spitting of your raucour. For where doe I mention the *Sword of the Magistrate* in my Epistle? What are the words that I use to engage the Sword of the Magistrate against any Religion? All that I doe, is but briefly to decipher and complaine of that mischief that hath come of an universal toleration of all Religions & that not as avowed and allowed by the State, but by you and others cryed up and usurped.

2. We take not upon us to prefer be to the Magistrate any way in Religion, which he should establish, but advise him specially to have recourse to the Word of God, which is a sure and cleare rule; out of which he may learne by diligent search and prayer, taking also the advice of godly and learned Ministers, what is the good and right way, which he himselfe should embrace and also commend, yea, and command unto his Subjects.

3. As under the Bishops there was a power practised which was tyrannicall, whereof you also, as well as other, did complain, so now also in this multiplicity of religious wayes, set on foot, some courses must needs be erroneous and schismaticall, in which company you and your party march with the foremost.

*Obj. Neither you nor any other sit in the Chaire of Infallibility, and so have no power over the conscience, which none can have but an unerring Law.*

*Ans.* 1. Whence are these loud words concerning our Infalibility? Our speech is not of our power, but of the power of the Magistrate.

2. If the Magistrate may not make lawes in matters of Religion, because he is not infallible in his determinations, upon that account you may as well abolish his power about Lawes in civil matters;



matters, For in those he may mislike, though not so oft and foule-  
ly as in matters of Religion, and such things not onely heavy and  
burthensome unto his people, but also unjust and unrighte-  
ous.

3. There is an infallible and unerring rule, viz. the Word of God,  
by which the Magistrate is to be directed in making his decrees,  
so farre as he keepe close to that: his determinations are infallible,  
and to be observed.

4. The matters that he commands in Religion ought to be the  
manifest precepts of God, or evidently consonant to his Word;  
and then though it being the command of the Magistrate, they  
doe not absolutely blind and conscience, yet as Gods Lawes,  
they have power so to doe. It is then a vain thing to imagine  
that the Magistrate in making such Lawes, doth encroach upon  
mens consciences, as binding men by his mere authority and the  
obedience of them, and that under paine of damnation; when as  
he doth onely command externall duties of Religion, to which  
men by Gods Law are bound in conscience. As for example,  
the sanctifying of the Lords day, publique attendance upon the  
Word, and other natural worship of God, and forbidding what is  
manifestly forbidden by the Word, the open professing and pub-  
lishing of Error and Heresies, and making unwarrantable Schisme  
in the Church, and that onely under some temporal penalties and  
rewards.

Obj. Suppose you and others were infallible, yet neither you nor  
any else create beliefs in the hearts of any that are contrary-min-  
d.

Ans. This Argument proceeds upon a false supposition, as if  
it were affirmed, that Magistrates should compell men to believe  
and repent, and in case they do not, were to punish them, which  
before hath been declared to be otherwise. The Magistrates  
power doth not enable him to meddle with those inward and  
spirituall actions of the soule, but onely to regulate the outward  
in life and conversation.

It is some mervails to me, that you that are so acute to spy  
mysteries by others unfreedom, see not the weaknesse of this and  
of many your reasons; For it is not in the Magistrates, or any  
man power to create in men the principle of true love to  
this

their neighbours; nor any of these gracious habits of inward charity, temperance, meekness and contentation, &c. who yet by Law order some outward actions of those virtues, and forbid the actual sins contrary to them, as railing, quarrelling, fornication, riotous drinking, theft, &c. And why then in like sort may he not make Laws about External acts of Religion, to enjoin the exercise of them; and forbid the actual contrary sins, though he have no power to create and infuse faith it false? It is not in vain for Ministers to preach, though they cannot create Faith in the hearts of dissenters; nor for Magistrates to command hearing of the Word, though they can infuse no faith into the heart; the outward means are rightly used, where the inward effect can be only wrought by God. As there is no need of the creating any new principle in the heart of man for doing those things wherein the Magistrate doth command, which is onely the abstaining from outward evil acts, as the not venting or openly professing Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies, or the doing of some externall duties, as to joyne in Gods publique worship, heare the Word, and such like. To performe which, that power and freedom, which by nature they have, is sufficient.

*Obj. The Apostles in Church-affairs were of infallible spirit, but yet claimed no such power, but endeavoured to draw men to faith by the cords of love.*

A. Here is the same mistake which was noted before, as if it were affirmed, that Magistrates might compell Infidels, or any, to the Faith of the Gospel: As for Church-affairs, and any other matters, I trust you know that there is a wide difference between the Apostles and Church-officers and Magistrates, and the power committed to them both. The power of the first is onely spirituall and ecclesiasticall, and doth allow them no other meanes to reclaim men from Idolatry, Heresie, or any sin, and to win them to the obedience of the Gospel, but spirituall, viz. the preaching of the Gospel, and Church censures.

2. But the power of the Magistrate is such, as doth furnish them with authority, to lay commands on men to urge them to what is good, and punishments to reclaim from evil. It is no wonder then that the Apostles would not intrude into a power, which was not given them, which yet Magistrates may use as their proper right.

3. The



3. The Apostles did not put forth any coercive power against the foulest sin of Whoredome, Drunkenness, Theft, &c. to punish them with bodily punishments, or to urge men to Justice, Temperance, Chastity, but onely by words and exhortations dissuaded from such sin and perswaded to the contrary virtues. If therefore Magistrates may not in Religious affaires goe beyond the practise of the Apostles in the use of their power, neither may they use their power for the punishment of sin against the second Table; or by lawes encourage to the morall virtues thereof.

*Obj. All humane Weapons can enely force the outward man with a violent and preternaturall motion, &c. which soon turns again, when the constraint is over.*

*A. 1.* It is not the proper effect of humane & Magistraticall commands to force men by a violent motion, but rather tends to move them to a ready & willing obedience: such violent and constrained obedience comes not from the command, but from the indisposition of the commanded parties, who are ill affected to right and truth.

2. That motion which is unto good, and from evill, though somewhat forced, is more naturall unto man in his right estate, and more agreeable to his right end and duty, than a most free and willing motion unto sin and from good.

3. Forced motions are used for the common good in other things, and that without blame, and so may be here in some things, and in the order above prescribed. The State doth force its Subjects by pressing, and such like wayes, to serve them in their Wars; Servants are oft compelled, will they, nill they, to do their Masters work; Children to do their duty to their Parents. So by Law courses untoward Debtors are constrained to pay their debts. Now these motions are such violent motions, as here you except against, and such as would soon cease, if the constraint ceased. But who complains of any wrong herein done them, since the things they be constrained to be just and equall, and for the common good? And what lets, but that some constraint with wisdom and moderation may be used in religious matters, since it is a thing most just and righteous, and for the common good, both civill and spirituall, that Idolatry and Heresie be suppressed, and that the people doe attend the preaching of the Word, and

and Gods service in praying to, and praising him?

4. The motion may at first be violent, but afterward become very voluntary, what is done at first, to bring a Bullock to the yoke, or a Clew the saddle? when at length the one willingly comes to the yoke, and drives in it, and the other as willingly bears the saddle and his rider. It is so that a young Scholar for a time is forced to schoole; but, being a while entred, and taking some liking of learning, goeth to schoole very freely and willingly. So may it be, and so is, in these matters we treat of.

But last, This makes as much against all correction of children, and all law-making about matters of the second Table, as against coercive laws in Religion. For there they force children and men with a violent motion, as much as here; and it utterly impeaches the courses of the godly Kings, *Asa* and *Josiah*, in their reforming of Religion, as taking such courses as could onely force the outward man with a violent and preternatural motion, who yet are for such their practise praised in the Scriptures.

*Obj.* But the Gospel naturally begins with enlightning the understanding, then perswading the Will, &c.; and the summe of the Covenant is to write the Law in the heart.

*Ans.* This Argument, as some other before, proceeds upon a false supposition.

1. It surmisseth, That such Magistraticall commands and penalties by our opinion, serve to work inward grace in mens hearts, and for their conversion, when we teach that they are onely to order the outward actions of man.

2. It surmisseth, that they oppose, and goe contrary to the work of the Gospel in mens conversion, which is utterly untrue. And the course, which by those that plead for the Magistrates power in this thing, is commended to the Magistrate, is by you wittingly dissembled and concealed, to make their doctrine the more harsh, and to let the fairer glosse upon your large discourse, concerning the order of the Gospel's working; therefore to deale fairly, you should have let them know, that we do not say that the Magistrate's command should goe out alone to force subjection to it, but that there should goe with it all along the preaching of the

Word,



Word, and all good means of instruction; to reclaim from error, and instruct in the truth; and persuade to the obedience of it. It is their minds that men should be dealt with as reasonable creatures, and led by reason and persuasion, and not as brut beasts, only forced with goads and whips.

2. This course is far from opposing the Gospel's way, as that it directly tends to further the working of it, that the Lord thereby, according to his Covenant, may write his lawes in his peoples hearts. The end of it (as was said above) is to bring men to the hearing of the Gospel, and attend upon it; without which it can never work either to the illightening of their understanding, or the perswading of their wills. Moreover, for the Covenant, which is, *That God will write his lawes in the heart*; this writing, no doubt, is meant of the whole Law, that of the second table as well as that of the first. What then, may not Magistrates make Lawes to regulate mens actions in duties of the second Table, as against the foule sin against it, because Gods Covenant is to write these in the hearts of his people? And if this writing such lawes in mens hearts, evacuate not the Magistrates legislative power about such duties, why should it take away the Magistrates power to make lawes about Religion, and the duties thereof? The like may be said concerning the Gospel, illightening the minde, and perswading the will, which concerns not only the mysteries of the Gospel, and matters of Religion, but the works and duties of the second Table; to the right performance whereof there is need of the illightening of the minde, and perswading of the will; about ordering which, yet power is granted to the Magistrate. Farther, Why goe you not on to urge this farther with Familists, and Seekers, and the like, against preaching the Word, and such other means of edification, as vaine and uselesse, since God doth promise to write his lawes in his chosen hearts and mindes, without mentioning any such external helps, yea addeth, that they shall no more teach one another, saying, *Know the Lord, for they shall know every one the Lord from the greatest unto the least of them.* Jer. 31. 33. 34.

Obj. *This was the method the Apostles followed,* 1. Cor. 14. 22.

Ans. Here is a plaine change of the Question; For the question

Cbil. 7. sent. 3.

tion is not, what method the Apostles and Ministers may and ought to use for inward conversion; but what course Magistrates may follow in outward matters of Religion, *Aliud est sceptrum*, as he said, *aliud est plectrum*; It is one thing to sway a Scepter, and to carry the temporal Sword, which cutteth the flesh, and another thing to manage onely the sword of the Spirit, viz. the Word, and Church-discipline, which onely medleth with mens spirits. Another manner of power for making Lawes and assigning Punishments, is annexed to the temporall sword, than to the spirituall.

2. What answer hath been given to the former Arguments, may serve here, namely, that this course doth not thwart the Apostles method, but doth promote it.

3. That that writing mentioned by the Apostle, which was by the Spirit, and in the fleshly tables of the heart, doth concern the duties of the second table, about which the Apostle makes many exhortations in this and his other Epistles, as well as duties in Religion; wherefore the Apostles method excludeth the Magistrates power no more from meddling with matters of the first Table than of the second, and permitteth him equall power in them both.

Obj. You endeavour by a contrary course to constrain the body to what the heart opposeth: And then, if whatsoever be not of Faith, is Sin, your course is contrary to the Gospel-order, and destructive to mens soules.

Ans. This Argument seemes not to be your *Helena* (as you call an Argument of mine) but your *Achilles*, as a strong Argument is sometimes called *Achilleum argumentum*, as which in this Question seemeth to be of the most force and strength. But I answer, that it is not contrary to the order of the Gospel, nor destructive to mens soules, by civil lawes instruction going along, and being also used to restraints men from Idolatry, and publishing Heresies, or to command them to the necessary and naturall duties of Gods worship, though it be against their minds and persuasions.

For first, The Gospel doth not allow that mens erroneous consciences and persuasions should be their rule or guide in Religion, or any other way, but onely the Word of God.



2. The Gospel doth no where allow unto men the practise of Idolatry, or the open profession of Errors and Heresies:

3. As Christ hath appointed that his Gospel should be preached to every creature; so all men are bound when and where it is preached, to be ready to heare it. It is therefore more contrary to the Gospel, and more destructive to mens Sou'es, to suffer them without restraint to continue in Idolatrous worship, and Hereticall wayes, than to restrain and compell them according to the abovesaid order.

*Obj. But whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin, and men may not be compelled to sin.*

*Ans.* It is true, that whatsoever is not done with a due persuasion, that it is right and lawfull, but against such a persuasion, and with a doubting conscience, is sin to him that shall so doe it, but is not alway so in it selfe, nor to him that shall command the doing of it; but may be a most just and necessary duty, and very justly commanded to be done:

1. There are things meerly indifferent in which to enforce men to practise against their consciences, is against Charity, is a breach of Christian liberty, and an abuse of Magistracy. For there is no breach of any command of God, in doing or not doing such things, and God may be honoured and acknowledged both in his doing or not doing thereof. *Rom. 14 6.*

2. There be matters of lesse moment in Religion, and circumstantiall points of Discipline, or so, in which, who so dissent, and carry their dissent in a peaceable and humble way, are much to be born with, and no hard measure is to be put upon them.

3. There are maine and necessary, but externall duties of Religion, negative and affirmative, and some such as oblige all men even by the law of Nature; which to command men to observe and restrain from the contrary evils, though it go against their mindes, is no sin in the Magistrate.

For first, The doing of the one, and the neglect of the other, are manifest and palpable sins, are sins *per se*, and in their owne nature. To suffer which would reflect upon the Magistrate, to make him guilty of the sin, who hath power to restrain it and doth not. *1 Sam. 3. 12.*

Secondly, The sin that arises upon the doing necessary and main duties,

duties, or not doing, according to the Magistrates command, comes, *ex accidenti* by accident, not by the nature of the thing commanded, which is not onely good in it selfe, but also a necessary duty; nor by vertue of the command, which commands nothing but a thing manifestly good, and a necessary duty; but by the ill disposition and erroneous perswasion of the person doing or not doing. And if the enforcing of necessary duties must be forbore upon this account, that some sin by accident will ensue thereupon, how can Ministers lawfully call upon men to pray or heare Gods Word, since wicked men in such services will rather by their ill doing of them, offend than please God? Moreover, Magistrates in making lawes about such weighty matters, are not bound to looke to particular mens consciences and opinions, but to have an eye to Gods Word commanding or forbidding this or that. Mens opinions and consciences are secret, and not alwayes openly known. Gods Word is open and manifest: Mens Consciencs are divers, *quis hominis tot sententia, se many men so many winder*; Gods Word is uniforme and the same. Mens Consciencs would be a weak and uncertaine rule for him to goe by, Gods Word is sure and certaine. And if Mens Consciencs accord not with Lawes in such main, and manifest matters, made according to the Word, it is their sin and error, and in such case the Magistrate ought indeed to take order that they may be instructed and brought to the knowledge of the truth, and so willingly submit unto it. But if notwithstanding they will persist in Idolatry, Hereticall, and openly Schismaticall wayes, such wholesome Lawes must not give place to stubbornly erroneous consciences, but they must submit thereunto, or do justly suffer the appointed penalties.

Further, It is plain, that in sundry cases men may be compelled to that, in doing which they sin through their own default. It is the duty of Subjects to serve the State in their wars, willingly, and out of love to the publique good; of Servants to serve their Masters willingly and out of love to them; of Debtors to pay their Debts willingly, and out of love to justice. Which things if they doe not, or will not doe, they are justly compelled therunto, though in doing it there is sin committed by them, in doing that upon force and grudgingly, which should be done by them



them out of love, and with ready minds: I may yet adde, that this dart, such as it is, may be as well cast against Church censures, as against this coercive exercise of civil Power. For it may easily fall out, that men in the Church, for feare of the censure of the Church, and especially in case of deposition from their Pastorall Office, and so the loss of the maintenance they have thereby, may dissemble their Errors, and subscribe to Truth, even against their conscience: A notable example of it is in some *Arrian Bishops*, *Enemies of Nicæna*, & *Therogis of Nies*, who for fear of losing their Bishopricks, upon the decree of the *Nicene Council*, against *Arrian* and his Conspirers in dissembling manner against their consciences subscribed to the decree of that Council, against that damnable Heresie.

If then no power may be used upon which men may be driven to act against their consciences, and so sin, neither can Church censures, nor deposition of Hereticall teachers be put in practice, upon which such an inconvenience may ensue.

The conclusion then is, that it is not lawfull to compell any man to doe that which is directly, and in it selfe sinfull; but that a man may be compelled by lawfull authority, without any fault of theirs, to the doing of manifest and necessary duties, though in the doing thereof he sin, and that only by his own default and evil disposition.

Let me yet tell you, that a man doth sin much less in doing a necessary good work, upon command against his misinformed conscience, than in a willing and witting omitting of it. And that whosoever the conscience is awakened, it will more sting for this last than the former, about which we have seldome knowne any to have beene troubled in minde upon doing it: And that the Magistrate must needs sin in suffering such a witting and willing neglect of a manifest necessary duty, but can never be proved to have sinned in commanding and urging men to duties manifestly good and necessary.

Obj. We read of none in the New Testament who commanded all to worship save the Beast. Rev. 13.

Ans. 1. We read of none in the New Testament that were punished for Whoredome, Icelist, Perjury, False witness bearing, Drunkenesse, &c. What then? may not these with your consent

be punished by the civil Magistrate? all the sons of *Belial* would much applaud you for such a toleration of wickedness, which this your pleading doth as much countenance, as an Universal toleration for Religion.

2. It had been fair play to have written out the whole text, that the command was to worship the Image of the Beast, and receive his mark in their right hand, or in their forehead. *Rev. 13. 15, 16.* Such compulsion doubtlesse is detestable. But what is this against compulsion to renounce the Idolatry of the Beast and all other Idolatry, and to worship God in his true worship? To which things we read, that the godly Kings of *Judah, Asa, Jehosaphat* and *Jehoiada* compelled their Subjects, to their praise and commendation. The fault is not noted to be simply in the course of compulsion, but in the object of False worship, and open profession of Popery, to which he compelled.

And thus have I cleared our Barque from those dangerous shelves, upon which you made account to wreck us, and have brought it safe to land. Now it followes:

*Obj.* It is conceived that you (*Presbyterians you mean*) are in this a part of the greatest and most detestable Schisme, that ever came into the world.

*Answ.* A foule and lewd reproach, but fit enough for your wide mouth.

Thus indeed the Papists did judge of us, and so doe still, who condemn the reformed Churches of a wicked Schisme, in departing from them, and them most, which went farthest off from them in that, as well in Discipline as in Doctrine, with whom you and yours symbolize in this accusation of us. But as one saith, *Non eadem est sententia tribunalis Christi & angeli susurrorum, The Sentence of Christs righteous judgement, and of whisperers in their corners is not all one.*

Next, after some pretty many lines follows a volley of slanderous reproaches, in matching Civill government with Episcopacy: Whereas that was a Lordly government of one over a whole Doecess; this is onely a brotherly combination of many Ministers and ruling Elders, to manage Church affaires by common consent, and that as much as may be, according to the Word of God.



2. As if we did take authority to adjudge all beside our selves to be Hereticks, Schismatics, &c. and did seek by humane force to enslave others to our wills and canons, and were beneath a legall Spirit in dealing worse with others than we would be dealt withall. All which are but the lashings of a nettled Jade, that kicks and flings his heels at randome, at those that are about him.

For first, Who is there of those that I name expressly, that you will have the face to excuse from the blame of an erroneous Sect? Which are *Arminians, Antinomians, Soule-mortalists, Antisabbatarians, Seekers* and *Anabaptists*, with rigid irreconcilable *Separatists*? Or where do I speak of enslaving all others to our wills? Our *Independent Brethren* here you glaze withall, and stroke them; for which yet they have little cause to con you any thank: For in your book you soundly box them. Next follows a blazing of the conscientious Piety and State-Fidelity of your party, and some others, with a plea for an Universal Liberty. To which this is all that I will say, that where those things are found (of which you boast for your selves and others, which is no great modesty) as they deserve their due respect and encouragement, so they may not, nor can serve for a just plea to countenance any error or erroneous course; nor can challenge any other liberty than will stand with the leave of Gods Word for the Magistrate to grant. And if any laid out their dear lives to purchase this vast Universall Liberty for themselves and others, they spent their lives to no good purpose, and with small comfort to themselves. When we and many other peaceable Christians were under the Prelaticall yoke, what Liberty would have been gratefull to us, appeared by the writings and Petitions of Non-conformists in those dayes, which was an ease from the burden of Subscription, and sundry Ceremonies superstitious, and plainly superfluous, without any endeavour to break off communion in the publique worship of Prayer, Hearing, and Sacraments, whereof they were willing to joyn, much more without pleading for a Toleration for all wayes in Religion, an abomination by them abhorred; or derogating from the Magistrates power to command in matters of Religion, which they did then (as now) unanimously maintain, and your Sect did eagerly oppose. When we are guilty of that,

*Proprio laus  
fides in ore.*

that calumny which you falsely charge on us, we shall neede  
your fixing advice: But in the mean while I say with the  
Poet, *And your hose, and your shoes, and your*

*Liripidem vestes derideat, Ethiopum albus.*

*Let the straight foot jeere the pole-footed man,*

*And the faire face the Ethiopians.*

To go along with you, after you have smeared your paper with  
some sunle over flowings of your gale, in charging upon me Pop-  
peries, opprobrious dealings, &c. without instanting any particu-  
lars (which is but deceitfull dealing) you schoole me for taxing  
your way for a Sect and Schisme; and assay to informe me better  
in the nature of these. A Sect (say you) is a Rent; a Schisme is a  
cutting off, or dividing from the truth. *Ans.* It is not worth

the labour to make much ado about words; but it will not be  
amisse to let men see your ignorance in some things, wherein you  
would seem to be acute. A Sect therefore cannot rightly be Eng-  
lished a Renting; It comes not from any word that signifies to  
rent, but is derived (as some) either a *secundum*, which is to cut,  
whence is *seilum*, *seilum*, and so *seilum*, as it were, a part cut off  
from others, or from the truth, to which they should stick and  
adhere, by which course there is a dividing into sundry sides, ac-  
cording to that of the Poet;

*Scinditur incertum studio in contraria vulgus.*

*The incertain people doe themselves divide*

*Into contrary parts from severall sides.*

Or (as others) a *seilum*, which signifies *to follow*, noting  
a company which doth stiffly follow some opinion or party, with  
a resolution to cleave thereto. A Schisme is a Greek word origi-  
nally, and comes *σχίσμα*, which signifies to cut, or cleave in  
two, and as it were divide one from another; and is translated  
*Mat. 9. 16. Mark 2. 21. Luke 5. 36.* rather a rent than a cutting  
off, because in an old cloth patched up with a new piece, it is not

meant

*Dolore agis qui  
versatur in gene-  
ralibus,*



meet: that thereby one piece is cut off from another; but this  
 therein when it is turned out, the breach is made the wider. Now  
 it is rightly said, that a Schisme is a cutting off, or divi-  
 ding from the truth, but rather a dividing of minds and affec-  
 tions between mee, and a breaking off from Church communion  
 between those that agree in the truth of the Gospel. This by  
 Divines is usually laid downe to be the difference between Here-  
 sic and Schisme. Heresie stands in the intermingling and stiffe  
 maintaining false and perverse Doctrines; Schisme is the practise  
 of an unlawfull and undue separation from a true Church: One  
 may be an Heretick, and not a Schismatick, as if a man denying  
 some prime Article of Faith, doe yet adhere to a Church confes-  
 sing the true Faith. And one may be a Schismatick, yett not  
 an Heretick, as if a man fondly yielding off the shieler of the  
 Faith, will not yett communicate with a true Church in Gods  
 publique worship. *Schismatis est seorsum facere* (saler another) *communione*  
*de ipsa societate.* The breaking off from Church society and com-  
 munion doth make one a Schismatick. Of which whole I have  
 said, you in your way, doe seeme to be in question, whereas you  
 display this course of Separation, as the chief banner of your  
 company, in defiance of the Church society. It is true, you say,  
 that truth newly springing is often branded with the blacke col-  
 or of a Sect and Heresie. And it is also as true, that Heresie, when it  
 cometh abroad, it want to disguise it self under a countenance  
 of Truth, the better to ingratiate her selfe with unwary per-  
 sons. And from whomsoever you should heare such language  
 touching your way, that it is a Sect or Schisme, to me it is playne;  
 but no foul language, to call a Fig a Fig, or a Spide a Spide. Next,  
 for some touches given your company you are shrewdly persi-  
 sted, and kick and dash very wildly. In Obed Vokes touch up  
 by me onely in way of allusion, there is nothing can be found by  
 you but scurrility, ribaldry, and the language of Hell. Alack  
 good man, that a verse or two of witty Poetry should be taken in  
 so ill part by you. But this is nothing but the cyclical arrogancie  
 and confidence of your spirit, and vanity. *hivison vlesit avit*  
 The truth is, it was such a poore picture of your gadding and  
 rambling company, that you could not see it so lively set forth  
 with patience. And if a verse or two should be the language  
 of

of Hell, what language you, who alledge a verse of his? but it  
 wot to little purpose; in the margin of your Book, pag. 78:  
*Meus calvus subit per mentis onera frigus*: For the scandall  
 of Ribaldry cast in my teeth, it is true that that wanton Poet was  
 faine to excuse his looser Verses elsewhere used; for which he was  
 justly blamed, with these words;

*Infamia est nobis pagina, nota proba*. I am not  
 ashamed of this page, because it is so famous.

*Our writing loose and wanton is, but it is not  
 My life is best for all this.*

But for my part I have not in all my dayes (which are not a few)  
 been upbraid'd with Ribaldry in speech or writing, untill now  
 by you. And what is the ground of this foule crime? a Distich  
 which I borrowed out of Ovid, in which, as he elegantly, and as  
 far from Scurrilley and Ribaldry, as you are from Modesty in so  
 charging them, describes the flocking of the *Thibans* after the Or-  
 gie, as they were called, the worship of *Bacchus* newly brought  
 amongst them; so I by the same set out the rambling of sundry  
 amongst us, after your new-set-up way and course of Religion.  
 Both which courses, as in this flocking of people after them, they  
 doe agree pretty well; so you may know, it is far from my in-  
 tent for matter to compare the worship you use, wherein is some  
 exercise of the Word, and prayer to God well intended, though  
 the manner and end is the way of Separation, and other wayes,  
 cannot be justified, with the profane and impious *Orgia* of *Bac-  
 chus*. But for the Verses, Latine or English, let the chaste  
*Sophy* read them, and I dare say, neither her chaste care  
 shall heare, nor eye espy any nicety that hath the least shew  
 of Ribaldry. And unless you can shew plainly in what words  
 this Ribaldry lies, with which you defame me, you doe but pro-  
 claim your selfe a foule-mouth'd rayler to all understanding men.  
 As for the free doe you make among your hearers, of what you  
 have freely received, if they understood themselves, they have  
 little cause to thank you for it, who forbade all Rones amongst  
 them, shew, for what matters which they cannot bite or under-  
 stand; or for what give them chafe, that is light and unprofitable  
 stuff



And to feed upon. And if you mention this your dole to blame the Ministers, which receive and require due maintenance for their labour. I trust you know, and will yeild to it; that Christ hath ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel: And if your free receiving your gifts binde you to a free giving, why doe you not as freely spend and bestow your tithes, yea, whatsoeuer you will, upon your hearers and followers; which I hope you will acknowledge to be as freely given you, as your spirituall gifts? I desire not to derogate from the pretiousnesse of your Saints, if so they be: Nor can you with all your painted language excuse them or your self from that instability I charge on them; If *Paul* justly charge the *Galatians* with this inconsistency, that once they did reverence him as an Angel of God, yea as Christ himselfe; but afterward, upon their giving eare to false Apostles, who turned them to another Gospel, did slight him, yea counted him as an enemy, how can you and many of your company, free your selves from the like blame? who not, many yeares since, acknowledged our Ministers the true Ministers of Christ; heard them gladly, followed them earnestly, confessed the spirituall good you received by them; but now, not onely forsake them, and, I doubt, against your consciences, disclaime the comfort and conversion wrought in you by their Ministry; but load them with the foulest reproaches you can, as calling them Priests of *Baal*, and *Antichristian*, &c. What in me is invective language, ganle, vinegar, and cruell ganle of Asper, as all these you hide in *Ovids* harmlesse Verses, had been in you (as you speak in your paper to me) but an abstractive to cleare up my dimme eye sight. But whatsoever fault be in my language (of which let the Reader judge) truly it must lye upon my selfe alone, and not be charged upon any other, who had no hand in it.

But it is as far from any of these bitter things, as from Scurrility or Ribaldry: some salt perhaps there is in them, with which your galled back cannot endure the rubbing. We in our way challenge no Throne or Kingdome to our selves (as you scoff) Our desire and endeavour is onely to set up the Kingdome of *Iesus Christ*, which while you seek to darken by your foule Errors and Schismaticall courses, we cannot but make it matter of sadness and grief unto our hearts: And for your matching us (which is

your constant course), with idolatries, and changing us with blaspheming God with them: let all Christians take notice of your Spirit, and the Lord rebuke you for it, for there is no gentleness, no vinegar, nor venom of Ape in such language, because your

Concerning your passage of outward Jerusalem, figured by Hypocrites, application, it doth no more concerne us, when all others, who maintain strict Churches, and oppose you as well as we do in this your new way of more separation.

To answer more particularly, there are Extraneous of diverse

Such as are merely legall, and are by Christ abolished: It was the Law of that outward Jerusalem standing on these in Paul's dayes, and that as still to be continued; and as necessary to Salvation; that made them such enemies to those that walked in a free Gospel walk, free, not bound (as you seem to intimate) from all extraneous, but from those legall ones, and as urged by the false Apostles.

2. Such as are grossly idolatrous and Superstitious, as most among the Papists.

3. Such as are merely humane, and of mans invention. And it is so commonly, that such as stand rigidly on those extraneous, prove enemies to such as desire to walk in a Gospel liberty.

4. There are extraneous that are of Divine Institution, as constitution of visible Churches, official Ministry, Sacraments to be duly administered, Church censures, upon which to stand rigidly is no fault, nor any conscience holiness. It is only to stand upon Christ his order and ordinances. And the Primitive Christians walked not in any freedom from these, but in a willing subjection to them.

And if you now, or any other, in your course of separation, shake off these Extraneous, as you terme them, of Christ's Institution, they are not children of a Christian, but of a carnall and licentious liberty: And their claim at Spirituality is merely counterfeited and deceitful. For the lawful Course rejected, Revul, etc. it is not (as you would have it understood) the outward form of visible Churches among Protestants, but the visible and outward



obscured state of the Romish Church, as hereafter shall be more fully cleared; which is indeed a Mother that doth enslave her Children.

Now toward the end, somewhat you have a mind to say about your first Letter; where first, for the report given out about your Letter, and my not coming to conference with you, I have given some answer in the beginning of my Reply. The other matters about some mistakes in some words and quotations; there is no such wrong done as needs any expostulation on either side. For there is no advantage taken upon any such matter to the prejudice of either cause. And if it should be done on either side, it would prove but cavill, and redound to his discredit who should make it. If some places of Scripture by you alledged, were omitted by me, for haste or by oversight, you know that you had an answer to them from another reverend man by my procurement, which I sent to you, though you pleased to take no notice of it; and I shall, I trust, God assisting, give answer to them all in due time.

But now for a Conclusion, There is a capitall crime, or some deep plot charged on me: Your Book, say you, is not dated as the beginning according to the usuall manner. At the end of your Epistle it beares date *August the 18.* now it came not out untill *December*, neere four moneths after: whether this be double dealing, to make the Reader believe that we were tardy in our Reply, is best knowne to your owne conscience: *Ans.* It is wonder that here you did not make a *O yes*, and as he call out, *Hearken O people every one of you.* Here is, no doubt, a weighty matter to cavill at, and to charge upon a mans conscience, as if I were by when the book was in printing, and gave any order about its dating: It is dated as all other books be in the beginning, and as your own noting, the party for whom it was printed, and the yeare when it was printed, though not the moneth, nor day of the moneth, which is not usually noted. 2. The long distance between the date of the Epistle and the Books coming forth may shew indeed (and that is the plaine truth) that it was long ere I could prevaile with the Stationer to undertake the printing of it, and the flow going on of the Press.

But it seemes that you are very jealous of your credit, and would

would have the world take notice of your ability and readiness to write and answer: In which point I shall not contend with you. I did in my book, toward the end, acknowledge, and still do, that I am but of a dull apprehension, and slow motion, and now somewhat the slower by reason of my age, having fulfilled the 77 years of this mortall race. You, for me, shall goe away with the praise of this swiftnesse. It shall suffice me, if after some p'odding and longer deliberation, I can at length finde out the truth. In which case yet I wish you to take notice of the Proverb, that *Tardus aliquando celorem assequitur*, He that is but slow, may at length overtake the more swift of foot.

I will conclude with a story of *Melancthon*, who in a disputation with *Errius*, a Popish Sophister, being urged with a subtile argument from him, after some demur about it, said, I will answer it to morrow. Oh (saith *Errius*) this is not for your credit, if you cannot answer extempore, out of hand, and presently. To whom *Melancthon* did reply, O good Doctor, I do not seek mine owne credit in this businesse, but the truth: To morrow you shall heare me. Thus I had rather suffer in my credit for dulness, than prejudice the truth by my too hasty swiftnesse.

*Qui dicit quæ vult, audiet quæ non vult,*

*Whose humour is to speak what he doth please,  
Shall hear what will afford him little ease.*

A



A briefe and solid Exercitation concerning the Coercive  
Power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion, by a  
reverend and learned Minister, Mr. George Petter,  
deceased, lately of Bread in Suffex.

Qu. **W**Hether the Civil Magistrate by his authority may com-  
pell men to doe any thing against their conscience in  
matters of Religion, or in the worship of God, as, to come to Church  
and there to heare the Word preached.

Ans. The Magistrate being ordained of God to be custos  
utrinque tabulae, both may and ought to use his authority, in  
compelling those under his jurisdiction to the due performance of  
all externall religious duties commanded of God, and required in  
the first table of the morall Law.

1. But Rom. 13. 4. He is the Minister of God for the good of  
his Subjects, that is, to procure and provide for their good and  
welfare. Now the chief good of his Subject is their spirituall  
good, the good of their soules: and how doth he provide for  
this, if he suffer them to neglect and omit the duties of Gods  
worship, and the ordinary meanes of their salvation, and doe not  
compell them to perform and to use the same?

2. But 1 Tim 2. 2. One end for which we are commanded to  
pray for those that are in authority, is this, that we may under  
them, and by their meanes, lead our lives in all godlinesse.  
Whence it followes, that it is the Magistrates duty by his autho-  
rity, to provide that Subjects may live under him in all godlinesse.  
And how can he be said to do this, if he do not by his power take  
order that they may duly performe the maine duties of piety  
commanded by God?

3. That from the example and practise of some of the religious  
Kings of Juda, 2 Chron. 34. 31. Josiah made a Covenant to walk  
after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, &c. and he  
caused all in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it. So 2 Chro. 15.  
the

the like Covenant, by the authority of *Asa*, was made by his people, ver. 12. *They entered into a covenant to seek the Lord God of their fathers, &c. and that whatsoever would not seek the Lord, &c. should be put to death, &c.* This was a compulsion in an high degree.

4. That, if a Master of a Family may and ought to compell his Family, yea and Strangers too, coming or being in his house, to the outward sanctifying of the Sabbath, or least to keep them from prophaning it, as appears by the Fourth Commandment: then may a Magistrate do the like, according as is read of, and commanded in *Nehemiah*, cap. 13. 15. 16, &c.

1. Obj. If the Magistrate compell his Subjects to do things against their consciences, or which they in their consciences are persuaded to be unlawfull for them to do, then he compells them to sin.

Ans. Here it is to be considered, from whence this persuasion in the Subject doth proceed; If from an ignorant and weak conscience, as in such as have not had the means, or no sufficient means to teach them, and informe their consciences right touching the lawfulness of the things enjoyned, then I think such persons are not to be compelled to such things, till they have bene first conferred withal, & better instructed & informed of the lawfulness of those things enjoyned by such as may be perswaded better able to informe them, than they can inform themselves: Yea here this caution is to be added, that when such duties of Religion are enjoyned by authority of the Magistrate, such ignorant or weak persons are not rashly, or of their own heads, to withdraw their obedience by refusing to conform to the duties enjoyned, but they are first in all modest and humble manner (and that speedily) to propound their doubts and reasons of their refusall, and so desire satisfaction therein, from such as are in authority.

2. If on the other side the foresaid perswasion doe proceed from an obstinate conscience, as those that have had the means of teaching, and have been sufficiently convinced of the lawfulness of the things enjoyned by authority of the Magistrate, and yet doe obstinately persist in refusing to do them, then the Magistrate compelling them to outward conformity in doing the duties enjoyned, doth not compell them to sin, but useth the means to reformation in them, by punishing them for their obstinacy,



may, thereby to reclaim them from it, and from their contempt  
and neglect of Gods ordinances.

Now this the Magistrate may and ought to doe: For Rom. 13.  
is said, *His beareth the sword in vain*, and is therewith to  
punish evil doers; but surely they are evil doers, who do wilful-  
ly, even against the light of their Conscience, refuse to be con-  
formable in such duties of Religion and Gods worship as are  
enjoyed by the Magistrate: These are *avoxatdneitoi*, Iste  
condemned persons, *Titus 3. 10*. The Magistrate in this case doth  
not cause such to sin, *2. Cor. 1. 12*. *Persecutione* *deus* *Per. Mat. 10. 16.*  
*claf. 2. 2.*

Obj. Faith and Religion are not to be forced, but to be freely and  
voluntarily taken up and embraced, according to this of Tertullian,  
*de Scap. cap. 2.* Nec religiosi est cogere religionem, que sponte  
fascinat, non vi. It is not according to Religion to compel men to  
Religion, which ought freely to be taken up, and not per. force:  
and that of Lactant. *Institut. lib. 5. cap. 20.* Religio cogi non po-  
tuit, verbi potius quam verberibus res agenda est. Religion can  
not be forced; the manner is to be effected by words rather than by  
stripes. To such purpose *Amb. lib. 5. Ep. 30.*

Answer To compell men to conformity in outward ex-  
ercises of Religion and of Gods worship, is not to force them to believe  
or embrace Religion, but only to compell them to the ex-  
ternall use of Gods Ordinances, which are the meanes to  
work Faith and Religion in them, and to move them in time  
(if it be possible) voluntarily to believe and embrace true Reli-  
gion.

2. As for those places of Tertullian, *Ambrose*, and *Lactantius*,  
That Compulsion that they speak of, is of Christians toward Hea-  
then; or of Heathen toward Christians (as may plainly appeare  
by perusing the places) and not of the Christian Magistrates  
compelling of Christians under his Dominion to the outward  
exercise of Religion and Gods worship established. It is one  
thing for the Heathen Emperours or their Deputies, to com-  
pell Christians to embrace Paganism; or for Christian Magi-  
strates to compell the Heathen (who have been brought up in  
Paganism, and never had yet the meanes to instruct them in Chri-  
stian Religion) to believe and embrace Christianity before they

have had sufficient instruction therein: And another thing for Christian Magistrates to urge, and compell such subjects as have been brought up and instructed in the Christian Religion, to outward conformity in the publick worship of God, established by lawfull Authority, 1603 viz our first parliament, and 1603 viz Anno

Obj. This is the way to make men Hypocrites, when they are com-  
pelled to shew outward worship of God, teaching in the mean time in-  
ward Pity.

*Austin.* The Scope of the Christian Magistrate, in using such compulsion, is not so much per Hypocritam, but by this means to move them to doe that afterward willingly, which for example they doe by compulsion, as *Austin* saith of the Christian in *Hippolytus* (where he was Bishop) That they at first taking part with *Donatus* and his Faction, were after moved by the severe Lawes of Christian Emperours, wipping in those times against the *Donatists*, to forsake *Donatus* and his followers, and to embrace the *Catholicall Doctrine* of the Church, and in other places also. See *Aug. Tom. 3. Epist. 43.* where he doth at large handle this question touching the Magistrates power in punishing Hereticks: Of which Epistle of *Austin*, *Zanchi* saies that it is *ingeniosissima, sed prolixior*, a notable Epistle, but very long. See also the same *Austin*, *Tom. 7. Opera contra epistolam Pelicani Donatista*, lib. 3. cap. 28. & c. 84. and also in his 50 Epistle, in which place he treateth of this question touching the Magistrates power in punishing Hereticks. In the former of these places, where *Pelican* complains of the Emperours forcing the *Donatists* to the *Catholicall Faith* by persecution, *Austin* makes this answer to him, *Non persequimur vos, nisi quia mendaces veritatem persequitur falsitatem*, And We persecute you no otherwise, but as Truth doth persecute Falseness. And againe, where *Pelican* boasted that the *Donatists* did not compell any to the Faith: *Austin* answers thus, *Ad idem quidem velis, ut regnum christi sit persequitur, hoc per imperium audiam Dei, tribulationem fugulis, fides perfidia configitur*. *Quoniam quid quis meret, quia libenter voluntaria eligunt, ideo minus pressi non legi integritate puniuntur*. And againe, *unde videmus, disciplina prelorem esse, ut quare prelorem, talis vultus delictum emendat*, that is, whereas they doth be compelled to the Faith against their will, but through the suffering, punishment



the mercy of God, perfidiously is wont to be chastized with  
the scourge of tribulation. What I say, because good manners  
are often by a free good-will, shall not therefore bad manners  
be punished by sound and wholesome laws? Notwithstanding  
that Discipline, which is the revenge of evil living, is preposi-  
tion, unless when the precedent instruction of well-living is despi-  
sed. To which may be added that of *Augustine contra epist. Gen-  
tium Donatistae*, lib. 2. cap. 17. *Quod vobis (Donatistis) videtur  
invidet ad veritatem non esse cogendum, erratis neque scitis scrip-  
turam & voluntatem Dei, qui per viros sanctos facit deum cognatum in vobis.*  
Whereas it seems to you Donatists, that none are to be compelled  
to the truth against their will, you are not knowing the Scri-  
pture, nor the power of God, who maketh men willing while  
they be enforced against their will. *Bartholomaeus* in a preceptum cap. 17.  
*de imaginibus*, Thet. 4. handles this question, where thus he expres-  
seth the sense of what he holds concerning it; *Augustinus senten-  
tiam sequitur, Pius magister non posse pro autoritate sibi a Dio tra-  
dicta, & vera etiam si viderit se posse, sed auctoritate ad ecclesia  
indifferentem uti, & officio debere subditos suos a malo ad bonum & a  
superstitionibus ad verum cultum cogere, tempore tamen communi &  
modo ad suam consequendum uti prudenter observato, that is, I fol-  
low the sentence of *Augustine*. That the goodly Magistrate may ac-  
cording to that authority given him of God, and truly also, if  
he shall see that he can use his authority to the edification of the  
Church, that he ought, out of duty, to compel his Subjects from  
Evil to Good, and from Superstitions to Gods true Worship;  
notwithstanding wisely observing a convenient time, and such  
a manner as shall be profitable to obtain his end. This Asser-  
tion he farther explains, and proves more at large: In one  
case he holds that the Magistrate is to forbear this coercion, at  
least for a time, viz. *Si aperit viderit res talis, sed de se sua sunt  
placita velis uti auctoritate, cumque capere per viderit in populo & in  
ecclesia ecclesiarum consensum superfluum fuisse, neque in aliud  
per diffundendum negotium, &c. Tunc curat ut non debet gladium in  
manibus, & curandum est ut gladio dentatur Spiritus, quod est ver-  
itas Dei, voluntatem ex auctoritate, &c. Permet hoc &  
Augustinus consilium de superfluo & inordinato de affere ad  
verum abusus, qui cum capere per viderit, &c. &c. &c.**

poterant nisi tota ecclesia dissiparetur. Then Zache addeth, Sane idem quidem mala tam gravia, ut graviora contigere non possint; ut publica blasphemia in Filium Dei, publica Idololatry, &c. Ad hoc gentis conservare nulla modo potest aut debet pium magistratum, utiamsi valat quidvis? That is, If he plainly see things to be in such a condition, as if he should absolutely use his authority, that all things certainly would become worse, and turn to the overthrow of the whole Church; there must be a forbearing, and the business is to be deferred unto another time. — Then surely he ought to keep his sword in the scabbard, and not to take care that errors should be removed out of mens minds, only by the sword of the Spirit; which is the Word of God. — Hitherto I appertaineth Africa's counsel about the forbearing — Of excommunication in Africa, against Drunkards, who, when almost all were so, could not be excommunicated, unless the whole Church were dissipated. Notwithstanding, some evils are so heinous, that would cannot happen, as publique blasphemies against the Son of God, publick Idolatry, &c. Certainly the godly Magistrate by no means can or ought to connive at these evils, although the whole world should fall on his head. — *Boetius lib. 2. quest. 33. An Magistratus debet cogere quengnam ad credendum?* Resp. Non potest, in dicitur scilicet aut cogere mentem, sed cogere locum ut audiat veram doctrinam, & media quibus excitatur fides promovere debet. *Secundo quest. 34. ubi loquitur de iudiciis, quest. 35. ubi loquitur de Magistrate.* Quest. Ubi dicitur De Magistrate ought to compell any man to believe? Resp. He cannot put faith into any, nor constrain the minde, but he can force the loco-motive faculty, that a man may hear true Doctrine; and be ought to promote all meanes by which Faith is excited and fostered. *Alfred. cap. conscient. cap. 7. cap. 8. Principes contra conscientiam potestatem suam permittunt liberam religionem, non quidem ita ut impune quisque colat Deum arbitrario suo, sed ut bonum antea mentis, seu libertas conscientie concordetur, ut qui in sanctamento salutis conveniunt, & non dissident, utitur. Et laudantur quidam quibusdum in negativis religionis dissident, Sane si potest hoc efficere, utrumque publicis perturbationibus omnia distinguuntur, sed quidem religionis*



*ut inis formidant amplexantur, utique nihil debet facere reliquum ad  
 summam diligentiam hoc ut obviemus, verum quia sapientum oratio  
 unitatem religionis in reipub. introducere conantur funditus evertunt  
 rempublicam. & unitatem civilem scindunt, non tametsi princeps hic  
 quicquam audebit;* A Prince may with a safe conscience permit  
 Religion to be free in his Dominion, not so indeed that every  
 man without punishment, may worship God according to his  
 pleasure; but that the benefit of Autonomy, or liberty of Con-  
 science, or a Self-law, may be granted unto them, which agree in  
 the Foundation of Salvation, and differ not in the business of Re-  
 ligion, but about some rites and certain lighter questions: cer-  
 tainly if he could effect it conveniently, without the disturbance  
 of the publick Peace, that all and every one of his Subjects should  
 embrace the same form of Religion; truly he ought to leave no-  
 thing unassayed unto his utmost diligence, that he might obtain it.  
 But because often times they that endeavour to bring into the  
 Common-wealth the unity of Religion, do utterly overthrow the  
 civil Unity: A Prince will not rashly dare to attempt any thing  
 in this matter. But *Beza* is more strict in this matter, whose  
 words in his Book *de puniendis haereticis*, are these, pag. 143. *Ma-  
 gistratus officium est, uti excommunicatio patet jactum est, si aliter non possit,  
 verum Dei cultum in sua ditione, redimere.* It is the duty of the  
 Magistrate (if it cannot otherwise be done) to purchase in his Do-  
 minion the true worship of God, even with the losse of outward  
 peace. *Wolfgangus Capito*, in a Book written by him, *de jure magistra-  
 tus in religione*, hath these words, as they are cited by *Beza* in  
 his Treatise *de Haereticis à Magistratu puniendis*, p. 149. *Pius prin-  
 ceps populum pro virili ad verbum Dei audiendum & ad hoc ut vita  
 & moribus illud exprimat, adiget severa auctoritate, hoc est animad-  
 versione legitimâ;* A godly Prince will, according to his power,  
 enforce his people to hear the Word of God; and to this also,  
 that they expresse the same in life and manners, with severe autho-  
 rity, that is, by lawfull punishment. *Mr. Perkins* in his Treatise  
 of Callings, Tom. 1. operum, pag. 741. writeth thus, *That the du-  
 ty of Magistrates wherein they do commonly faile, is this, that they  
 use not the Sword for this end, to urge men to the keeping of the Com-  
 mandments of the first Table, to a practise of pure Religion, and to  
 the keeping of the Sabbath day.* This is the duty of the Magistrate,

who beare the sword, especially for the good of mens soules. See also Dr. Cuthbert's Commentary upon Gal. cap. 6. printed with Mr. Perkins Comment on the five first chapters of that Epistle, as a Supplement to it, where (upon the 12 verse of that 6 chapter) this question is propounded and answered.

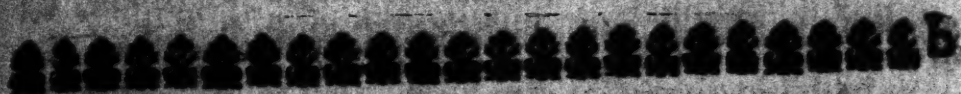
*Magistratus legum severitate vivit hic populum in ordine — quod ad auditum verbi, orationis communicationem, sacrificium laudis, & Sacramentorum celebrationem instantiter ac religiose frequentat — vigore legum & virga disciplina animadvertet in mores subditorum omnium — coercet hi quo non solum adulteria fornicationes, ebrietatem, furta — quod & Hispanici Magistratus faciunt, sed & impietatem, blasphemiam, heresim, sacrilegia, Ecclesiarum contemptum ac desertionem, Mutuulor. comp. de Magistratu, pag. 431, & 432. The Magistrate by the severity of his lawes, ought to keep his people in order, so far as that they do frequent diligently and religiously the hearing of the Word, joyning in Prayer, the offering of Praise, and the celebration of the Sacraments — he ought to correct the manners of all his Subjects, by the vigour of his Lawes, and rod of Discipline, and he shall restrain not only Adulteries, Whoredoms, Drunkenesse, Thefts — which Heathen Magistrates also do; but also Impiety, Blasphemy, Heresie, Sacrilege, the contempt and forsaking of the Church.*

— This is the duty of a Magistrate, who is to keep his people in order, so far as that they do frequent diligently and religiously the hearing of the Word, joyning in Prayer, the offering of Praise, and the celebration of the Sacraments — he ought to correct the manners of all his Subjects, by the vigour of his Lawes, and rod of Discipline, and he shall restrain not only Adulteries, Whoredoms, Drunkenesse, Thefts — which Heathen Magistrates also do; but also Impiety, Blasphemy, Heresie, Sacrilege, the contempt and forsaking of the Church.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Mr





Mr. John Cotton's Animadversions upon Mr.  
Henden's Letter to Mr. Elmeſton, heretofore  
printed & published in his Book to Mr. Henden.

Mr. John Cotton's Letter to Mr. Elmeſton, ſent with the  
following Animadverſions.

Reverend and dear Sir,

It is indeed a buſie ſeaſon with me to return due anſwer to ſundry  
Friends, who expect the ſame by this poſt. But becauſe your  
Letter is not only your's, but a voice from the Lord Jeſus, in which he  
addreſſes me to bear witneſſe to the truth (for which end he came him-  
ſelf into the world, John 18.37. and ſent his ſervants) I do ſeize  
this firſt opportunity of returning anſwer to the ſcruples which  
your Letter enliſed. If when you have peruſed the ſame, your judges  
among your ſelves, you may pleaſe to communicate them to your  
Chriſtian friends: If otherwiſe, reſerve them by your ſelfe. Be interceſ-  
ſant to accept the labour of my love from your fellow ſervant, and ceaſe  
not to pray for me, whoſe buſineſſes are more than my dayes. The  
Lord Jeſus be ſtill the ſtuff of your thoughts, and perfect his work in your  
heart and land, till he tranſlate you to his heavenly Kingdome in  
Chriſt Jeſus: In whom with hearty ſalutations to you and Mrs. Denly,  
I ſubſcribe my ſelfe,  
Truly Yours, and reſt,

Boston the 18. of the eighth

Yours in Brotherly love

month, 1651.

unfeigned,

JOHN COTTON.



My Letter to Mr. Hendon, when as I sent him a Copy of  
Mr. Cotton's Animadversions.

Good Mr. Hendon,

Such was my desire to be satisfied about your new Way and Principles, and to inform your self and followers about them, that I sent your Letter wrote to me to Mr. Cotton to New-England, and by Letter requested his judgement thereupon. In which thing, according to his courteous disposition, and desire to give witness to the truth; he hath condescended to me, and sent me in writing his censure upon your Letter; which I received but the last Saturday, and having transcribed a Copy of it, have here sent it to you for you and your Disciples to peruse, and thence to receive better information about your course. It may be, that truth commended to you from a place so remote, and from so learned and godly a man, will sooner be embraced than coming from a neighbour and ordinary friend, as commodities brought from far Countries, as China, or so, are of more esteem with curious Gentlemen, than what are home-bred, according to our English Proverb, Far fetcht and dearly bought is good for Ladies. There was, you see, a mistake in your quotation of Isa. 65. for 56. Which I observed not but upon the receipt of your last; upon which occasion I could say nothing to it; and Mr. Cotton here doth somewhat wisse of your meaning. What now I send you in writing, I shall shortly make more publique by printing. And if notwithstanding all this, you will wander still, and mislead others, I can say nothing but what he did; Si vult hic populus decipi, decipiatur; If this people will be deceived, let them be deceived; for who can hinder them that will not be undeceived? So I rest,

Decemb. 30.

1651. 10



Your loving Friend,

JO. ELMESTON.

Certaine



*Certain Errors noted in the Letter sent to you from a Christian Friend, whereof you desired my judgement.*

**T**he foundation of the Beast consisted in an usurped power of Error 1.  
Church-Discipline, forced upon men and his will without the call of God.

If the Beast be Antichrist, then he is contrary to Christ in all his movements, by which he is Christ. Now Christ is the Anointed, not only King of his Church; but anointed Priest, and anointed Prophet also.

The Beast is Antichrist, therefore not only usurping a Kingly *Ans.*  
power over the Church, in Church-Discipline, but also in usurping the anointed Priesthood, in assuming to us other proprietary and ministerial Sacrifices for Sin, and other Mediators of Redemption, as likewise in usurping the office of the anointed Prophet, in giving us Apocalyptic rules of Faith, and advancing himself to be Judge of Controversies.

The will of God in our time is only for Separation and Rewarding, Error 2.  
mark, extending evil upon Antichristians.

The Scripture acknowledgeth no calling only for Separation *Ans.*  
and rewarding Evil (both which are but detestations of sin) but requirith also the practise of the contrary virtues. Beloved (saith John) follow not that which is evil: but that which is good; 2 John vii. 11. Depart from evil (saith David) and do good, Psal. 34. 14. Confess the evil (saith Isaiah) and learn to do well, Isa. 1. 16. 17. There is no commandment of God fulfilled in submitting to the Negative parts only (in forbearing what is forbidden) without performing the Affirmative also, doing what is commanded. The 10. and Commandment is not fulfilled in abandoning or punishing humane or Antichristian inventions, without establishing and observing Christ's own Instructions.

The places of Scripture alleged to prove that all the Call of God in our times, is for Separation and Rewarding, are misinterpreted, and mis-applied: In Rev. 18. 46. the very phrase of calling out of Babel, implieth not only a removing a people, the place

from whence they should come, but *Terminus ad quem*; as *Rev. 12. 1. 2.* (a time contemporary to the other) come up hither, to wit, into an heavenly and pure estate. That place *Rev. 15. 8.* doth not argue that there were no visible Churches, nor Members in them, till all the *seven Vials* were poured forth on the Antichristian state, but the contrary rather. For all the seven Angels, that is, all the Instruments and Ministers of Gods wrath, against the Beast, came out of the Temple, and such a Temple it was, as was opened, that is, was visible, *cap. 15. 5.* and therefore there was a visible Church-state, before the pouring out of any of the Vials. As for that which is said, *No man was able to enter into the Temple till the seven Plagues of the seven Angels were fulfilled*, It is not understood of Christians (who were in the Temple before) but of Pagan Nations, whose conversion is retarded by the smoke of Gods wrath against Antichristians; which yet, nevertheless, hindereth not the conversion of a Sprinkling of some *Jews* and *Pagans*, but only any large or numerous conversion of them. The places in *Rev. 19. 7. 8. 9.* and *vs. 62. 3.* do exactly speak of the conversion of the Jews unto Christ in a Church-estate: And their Esponsage or Marriage to Christ doth not argue his divorce from the Gentiles, for the coming of the Jews will not infer a rejection of the Gentiles, but rather their resurrection and provocation to farther zeal, *Rev. 12. 12. 13.* Much less will these places argue, that there is no visible Church-marriage from the Apostacy, till the time of the conversion of the Jews. For beside what hath been said of the open and visible estate of these Churches, out of which the seven Angels came, it is evident, that during all the time of Antichrist's reign, the woman and her seed were nourished in the wilderness, and there persecuted of the Dragon, and his Viceroyent the Beast, *Rev. 12. 14. 10. 17.* Now the Woman is the Church, and the Seed her Members; and their Wilderness-estate doth not argue them invisible; For the Church of Israel in the Wilderness was visible and goodly, even in the eyes of Pagans, (*Numb. 23. 9.* and *24. 5.*) yea so visible were they, that the Dragon and Beast could see them, and persecute them, yea and make war against them, *Rev. 13. 7.* The two witnesses are said to be two *Candlesticks*, *Rev. 11. 4.* and *Allegorical Candlesticks* are ever, in *St. Johns* Divinity taken for visible Churches,



den. In the *Canticles* before the return of the *Shilohites* (that is before the conversion of the *Jews*) *Cant. 6. 13* there were sixty *Queens* and eighty *Concubines*; besides one precious *Spouse* above them all, *Cant. 6. 8, 9*. Now *Queens* are *Churches* in Marriage-covenant.

The Scriptures alledged for the restraint of the Spirit from breathing on Churches and Ordinances since the Primitive times, doe not argue an Abolition or Cassation of all Churches and Ordinances, but at most a corruption and pollution onely of the most of them, when yet in some Churches the Ordinances were preserved in due purity, that the Saints walked in them as Virgins, in whom was found no guile nor fault, *Rev. 14. 4, 5*. The onely Text that seemeth to look a contrary way, *Rev. 7. 10* doth rather beare witness to this truth. For the *four Angels* that restrained the *four Winds* from breathing on the Earth, Sea, and Trees, they did not execute that charge untill a stronger Angell than they had sealed all the Servants of God in their foreheads; even twelve times twelve thousand, *Rev. 7. 2, 3, 8*. which argueth, that all the times of the Antichristian Apostacy (though it lasted twelve centuries of years and somewhat upwards, *Rev. 11. 3*.) yet there never wanted in any century, at least, twelve thousand that worshipped the Lamb in spirit and truth, by the vertue of the Spirit breathing on them in their Church-fellowship; as there wanted not 7000. breathed on by a still, small, soft voyce in the forest Tyranny of *Isabel*; and deepest Apostacy of *Israel*. Nor doe the places quoted for the returning of the breathing of the Spirit at the brightnesse of Christs coming, speak of Christs future coming; but of the coming past and present; save onely that of *Ezek. 37. 14*. which apparently speaketh of the *Jews*, and the Spirit breathing on them in their future conversion, and not of *Christians*. That of *Isaiah 32. 15*. is most fully accomplished in Christs first coming; as likewise that of *Psal. 97. 4*. That other place of *Mat. 24. 27, 28*. sheweth onely that the Gospel shall shine forth from the East to the West, as from Christs time to this it hath ever done; the Gospel still spreading it selfe westward unto this day. In all which time, if any enquire where *Christ* is, he telleth you, *wherever the Eagles* (that is, the clear-sighted, and high-soaring spirited *Christians*) are gathered together, *ver. 28*.

Error 3:

The third Error discovereth in his distinction of Gospel-ordinances, and his explication and application thereof: *He reasoneth, such he, that Gospel-ordinances are of two sorts; 1. Such as are founded more immediately upon our spirituall Union in the Covenant of Grace, as Ministry, Baptisme, the Lords Supper, Prayer, Profession, &c. Such as are founded upon Church-Statutes, and appertaine to the officers, as Ordination, Confirmation, Excommunication, Admission, Absolution, &c. The first of these he sayes the Gates of Hell never prevailed against them: Teaching, Baptisme, Bread, Wine, Prayer, Profession, &c. But the second sorts, as with the Keyes (denied essentiall to officers) were not always truly used, &c.*

Answer:

This Distinction and the Explication and Application thereof, is not sound nor convenient. 1. Ministry, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, are essentiall to Officers, and more essentiall too, than Admission, Excommunication, Confirmation, Absolution: For these may all of them be dispensed by an *Heterodox Church* without Officers. But Ministry, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, cannot be dispensed without Officers. Christ sent forth none to administer Baptisme and the Lords Supper, but such Officers as he sent forth for the Ministry of the Gospel. 2. The Gates of Hell prevailed as much against Teaching, Baptisme, Bread, and Wine, Prayer, and Profession, as against the power of the Keyes: For as the Keyes were not always truly used, so neither were any of the rest. Teaching was corrupted with many fundamentall Heresies and Errors; Baptisme with many superstitious Ceremonies and undue Power; The Bread transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, and the Wine into the Blood, and both transformed into a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead; the Wine also taken from the People; Prayer was perverted into the Idolatrous worship of Angels, Saints, Images, and publicly offered in a strange tongue: And profession of Christianity degenerated into the profession and practise of Antichristian Idolatry and Superstition. Greater abuses than these have not prevailed upon the Keyes. True it is that the former sort of these were somewhat purged from sundry gross Pollutions, than the latter sort of the Keyes. But two things would be considered: 1. That as all the former Pollutions were not brought into the Church and Ordinance at once, so neither were they purged out



at once, but by degrees. And why may we not perceive the Keyes to be in length purged and scoured, as well as all the former?

2. It can never be proved that in the darrest times of the Antichristian Apostacy, the Ordinances of Christ were any of them wholly polluted in all the Churches, no not the power of the Keyes. For the promise of building the Church upon a Rock, against which the gates of hell should not prevail, was given to such a Church, as to whom the power of the Keyes was given expressly, *Mat. 16. 18, 19.* I know not what place (there was a mistake in the Letter, quoting *Isa. 65.* for *56.* which is the cause that Mr. *Simon's* answer is not punctuall to that allegation) the Author sheweth to; when he saith the name (of the Keyes) was fore-  
 prophecied to be everlasting, yet the hand or Keyes, held forth by the hand in the interpreted place, is not so specified, *Isa. 66. 5.* but was wholly resolved in the Pope, &c. which is as unsafe as the former. For in that place, *Mat. 16. 19.* where the Keyes are promised, the power and efficacy of them is given also. To this will *Isa. 66. 18.* the Keyes of the Kingdoms of Heaven (there is the name) and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven; there is the power and efficacy of the Keyes; which though the Pope and his Ministers perverted and abused, yea, and exorcised another Key, which he received from the bottomless pit; yet it is very unsafe to say, That the power of the Keyes was wholly resolved in the Pope, and that there was no other fact of Officials, but amongst the Papists in Luthers time, and that the visible Church, the foundation of the scaffold, and only an old scaled number remained. For it is evident, and in Story, yea, and in the Revelation also, 1. That the scaled number was a visible Church represented to John under the resemblance of two Candlesticks, *Rev. 1. 12, 13.* discerned and seen not only by John (representing the faithful, *Rev. 1. 14.*) but also by the Dragon, and by his Vicigent the Beast, who persecuted the Woman and her seed (that is the Church and her Members) *Rev. 12. 13.* to *17.* and *cap. 13. 6, 7.* The Church visible to malignant persecutors, was doubtlesse visible in itself, and in its Members one to another. 2. It is evident that in Luthers time, and many ages before the Waldenses lived, and when *Lactantius* wrote to *Lincolne* and to *Carthage* also, who not only kept

kept Church assemblies amongst themselves, but exercised the power of the keys among themselves; How then can the Author of the Epistle say, That there was not any face of Officials, but among the Papists in *Luthers* time? What could be spoken more effectually to gratifie the Papists, and to confirme their boasting, that either the Church of *Rome* was the onely visible Church upon the face of the earth, or else Christ had no visible Church upon earth for above a thousand yeares together? It is a very slender and lean evasion, to excuse the rooting out of Ordinances for having any being upon earth, "to hold they have a being in the Scriptures of truth, and in the mindes and desires of the faithfull. For we might as well say, *Babylon* hath no being upon earth, but is burnt down with fire, and the *New Jerusalem* is come downe from Heaven, because so it is in the Scriptures of truth, and in the mindes and desires of the faithfull. If we doe (as he saith) in this our returne from *Babylon*, carry (as the *Israelites* did of old) the vessels of the Lord along with us, why should we be afraid to officiate in them? "We dare not, saith he, officiate in them, because we are as yet within the territories of *Babylon*, and so shall be, till we have passed by the *sixth Vial*, over the River *Euphrates*. Rev. 16. 12.

*Ans.* There might be some colour for this, if the Churches of *Europe*, and of the Western *America*, were in Scripture phrase the *Kings of the East*. For they that are said to passe over the River *Euphrates* in that *sixth Vial*, are expressly styled the *Kings of the East*. But sooner shall a man draw East and West together, than prove *Christian Churches* to be the *Kings of the East*, or that we are still in the territories of *Babylon*, till we have passed by the *sixth Vial* over the River *Euphrates*: yea, suppose we were still in the territories of *Babylon*, yet neverthelesse, though the *Jews* of old did not perform Temple-worship within the territories of *Babylon*, (because that worship was confined to the Temple) yet we in the dayes of the New Testament (where the worship of God is not limited to any place) the true worshippers may worship the Father, even in the midst of *Rome*, And so did the *Waldenses*, and other of our godly fore-fathers within the *Roman* territories. The mention of the *sixth Vial* putteth me in minde of an whollsome warning delivered in it by Christ, and that



to the Saints of this age in a speciall manner. Behold I come as a thief (not to the last judgement which is no yet, but) to rob men of their garments of their former profession. Blessed is he that washeth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his shame. Rev. 16. 15. A M E N.

Mr. Cottons Letter to Mr. Elmeſton, upon his writing back to thank him for this labour of love in imparting unto me his judgement upon Mr. Henders Letter, and my signifying the flight account that Mr. Henden made thereof.

Deare S I R,

I Thank you for your last Letter, of March 5. 1651. whereunto I would have returned you a large Answer, but that God having lately afflicted me with an Asthma, I finde, stooping to write somewhat painfull to me; which distemper, though (I thank the Lord) it doth not yet silence me from publick Ministry, yet it keepeth me within the town, that I cannot go to neighbour towns to hear, else I had gone abroad to have joyned this day with the Indians at Natick (about 20 miles from us) in a day of Humiliation, wherein they intend to give themselves to the Lord, and to the worship of Christ in a Church-way. It is a wise dispensation of the Lord, that when many Christians with you, and with us too, fall off from Christs Institution and Ordinances, that now God should stir up poor Pagans to seek after the same. But so it was in the dayes of old, Acts 13. 46. 47. 48. and 28. 28. As for your Neighbour, I do not expect the Word should convince him, till the Spirit convert him more from himself, and persuade him: I do not easily believe his saying, that he had met before with all the things presented to him, but self is self-full. I should spend time in vaine to run over the particulars of his notions, unlesse all his grounds were laid open in them. To cut off some Sprigs when other lye hid: The best help for such is the prayer of faith, to him that toucheth hearts as well as judgements. If God returne him not, I feare he will fall





13  
STABLISHING  
AGAINST  
SHAKING:

OR,  
A Discovery of *the Prince of Darknesse*  
(scarcely) transformed into an *Angel of Light*,  
powerfully now working in the deluded people  
called, *QUAKERS*:

WITH  
A sober *Answer* to their railings against  
*Ministers* for receiving maintenance  
from their people.

Being the substance of one SERMON  
preached Feb. 17. 1655. at *Shalford* in *Essex*.

BY  
GILES FIRMIN (Pastour of the Church there) upon  
occasion of the *Quakers* troubling those parts.

L O N D O N,  
Printed by J. G. for Nathanael Webb, and William Grantham,  
at the black Beare in St. Paul's Church-yard  
neer the little North-dore. 1656.

Aug. 28